

California's Bitter Drought

TIME

THE WAR COMES HOME

Lance Cpl. Thomas Jenkins, 21, killed in action in Saudi Arabia

A small town mourns its first casualty





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/

THE PRODUCTION OF POLYSTYRENE CONTAINERS USES LESS ENERGY THAN PAPERBOARD.

True. For example, manufacturing hamburger clamshells from polystyrene, instead of bleached paperboard, requires 30% less energy. It also results in 46% less air pollution and 42% less water pollution.¹



POLYSTYRENE FOAM FOOD PACKAGING EQUALS ABOUT ONE PERCENT OF THE SPACE IN LANDFILLS.

True, and this amount continues to diminish as recycling increases. Other materials in the landfill include yard wastes 10.3%; metals 12%; paper (newspapers, phone books and paperboard boxes) approximately 34%; and all plastics about 20%. The remainder is composed of food wastes, glass, appliances, construction debris and other materials.²



BIODEGRADABILITY IS NOT THE SOLUTION FOR SOLID WASTE PROBLEMS.

True. Today's landfills are designed to inhibit biodegradation so that nothing readily degrades; not polystyrene, not paper, not even food wastes.



Franklin Associates, Ltd. "Resource and Environmental Profile Analysis of Fourn Polystyrene and Bleached Paperboard Containers." June 1990.
 Environmental Profile Agency. "Characterization of Municipal Solid Waste in the United States." 1990.
 William Rathie, Professor of Anthropology, University of Arizona. June 1989.



NATIONAL POLYSTYRENE RECYCLING COMPANY













THE GULF WAR: Staring out from photographs, the first U.S. servicemen to die in ground combat seem full of life and promise. As they are laid to rest across the nation, the real cost of the conflict comes home to America.

George Bush faces a decision that will determine how many more Americans will die: whether to start the ground war now or later. The choice hinges largely on how well the air assaults are going. ► Conventional wisdom holds that **U.S. support for the war** will fall if casualties soar, but the equation may be more complicated. ► By defying the allied onslaught. **Saddam Hussein** is gambling on winning the soul of the Arab masses.

THE CENT COST PLEAS IN published would by the SL Big crywar by The Time for Magazine Corpuses, Principal Center Line 14, 120 biology, Broadwork credits, New York, Y. (2003) 1330 Tag/ Corpus J. (2004) 1330 Tag/















new energy policy The President's plan gives a boost to oil exploration-and short shrift to

conservation. ► The White House unveils a budget for tight times. 40

WORLD: Apartheid's last victims Uneducated and unemployed, South Africa's

black youth face a bleak future. ► The Communist Party goes on the offensive in the Soviet Union.

BUSINESS: California's brutal drought

The state rations water as croplands wither. ► Is the recession nearly over? Exuberant stock-market investors seem to think so.

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Cover:

Photograph courtesy Tom and Joyce Jenkins

LETTERS

WAR IN THE GULF

"Alas, where has civilization brought us?"

Diptendu Chakraborty Toronto

It is a pity that many honest, law-abiding Arabs have come under the spell of the perverted genius Saddam Hussein [This GULF, Jan. 28], who has seized upon their feelings of "inferiority" (completely unceilings of "inferiority" (completely uncompart of the perversion of the perversion of the thing of the perversion of the perversion of the thing of the perversion of the perversion of the thing of the perversion of the perversion of the perversion of the special perversion of the perversi

Daryush A. Irani Bournemouth, England

You can call it Operation Desert Storm or anything else, but the *real* name for it is Bush War I.

(The Rev.) Richard Lonsdale Hallowell, Me.



The protesters declare that they are for peace. Who is not? Peace is not the question. This is about the moral issue of one country's taking over another.

Brooke A. Morford Malaga, Spain

As I witness citizens of Jordan, Algeria, Britain, Germany and other countries protesting the allied coalition's actions, I ask, "To whom would they plead for military protection if Saddam had elected to invade their homelands?"

Jan L. Brenk Minneapolis

We Japanese have been persistently method to feel remorseful, guilty and repentant for our military past, which we sincerely are. We know firsthand or grew up hearing about the devastation of war. Every August there are memorial services for the victims of Nagaski and Hiroshima. Japanese aren't indifferent—we are unenthasistic. Can you blame us? We understand the purpose of this war with our minds but can never go into it with our heart on an ever go into it with our heart of the work.

Mariko Ono Osaka, Japan

I agree with Strobe Talbott that Turkey plays a major role in the Middle East and is proving itself useful in the gall war. But one must not forget that even though Turkey is helping liberate Kuwait, it is itself an invader of another country, Cyprus, part of which it has occupied for the past 16 years. How can Europe accept as a member of the European Community a country that has not proved itself to be democratic? Cyprus also deserves its freedom.

Harry Sirounis Lancaster, England

WHO SCORES 95% IN POLICYHOLDER SATISFACTION?

LETTERS

Comparisons with Panama

I will leave it to others to answer most of the issues raised in Barbara Ehrenreich's distorted piece on Panama [Essay, Jan. 21]. I address my remarks to the implication that the U.S.'s Operation Just Cause of December 1989 may have been responsible for as many as 4,000 civilian Panamanian deaths. The U.S. Southern Command and the U.S. Army have reviewed carefully every charge that the number of civilian deaths incurred is more than 202. Despite an exhaustive and continuing investigation, we have found no evidence to substantiate a higher number. In fact, it is probable that the death toll was lower than the official estimate of 202

Michael P.W. Stone Secretary of the Army Washington

Ehrenreich's article was extremely negater and misleading. President Guillermo Endara was elected in May 1989 by an overwhelming majority. That election was asbotaged by the Noriega regime, and the candidates were brutally and savagely beaten by regime-trained paramilitary squads. Noriega attempted to annul the results. Now, in its first year of democratic life, Panama's economy is showing signs of a full recovery, with the highest growth rate in Latin America. Drug running is no longor a government-prosporsed and run business, as it was under the Nortiga regime. President Endarts administration is totally committed to the war on drugs, and has reformed Panamis Panking laws to eliminate money laundering. Operation Just Cause was not launched merely to "stop the drug traffic." It was carried out to topple a dictatoshy that, by utilizing the country for its own criminal enterprise, endangered the whole hemisphere.

Eduardo Vallarino Ambassador of Panama to the U.S. Washington

I would like to compliment Ehrenreich for the serious points she made. It is a disaster that in these times we have so few people who can see a situation clearly and who have the courage to put their convictions in writing. As we did in Panama, we are fighting in the gulf for all the wrong reasons, and in the end no good will come of it.

Barbara Connor Laguna Beach, Calif.

It is easy for Ehrenreich to opine that Panamanians should have been willing to endure years more under the Noriega dictatorship. But the people themselves, who suffered the violence, corruption and indignity of the dictatorship, believe otherwise. A Gallup survey taken in the fall of 1990 found that the overwhelming majority of Panamanians praise Operation Just Cause as their "liberation."

Bernard Aronson Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Washington

The Baltic Problem

It is unjust to lay the blame for the tragic events in Lithuania on Soviet President Gorbaches (WORLD, Jan. 28]. Chief executives are powerful people, but they cannot oversee all that transpires in their nation, no matter how hard they try. And some events, especially tragic ones, can occur without matter how hard they try. And some events, especially tragic ones, can occur without to blame the U.S. President for the dath of those killed in the race rios in the late '60' for for the shooting of four antiwar demonstrators by National Guardsmen at Kent State University in 1970.

Vladimir Alexeyev Novosti Information Agency Moscow

Monitoring Cow Emissions

Contrary to your recommendation, the government study of "burping cows" to see if they contribute to global warming does

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LETTERS

not deserve a "weird science prize" [GRAPEVINE, Jan. 14]. Cows and other ruminants emit methane, the atmospheric concentration of which has been increasing 1% a year. The buildup of methane is responsible for roughly 20% of current emissions that contribute to the greenhouse ef-fect. Research suggests that reducing livestock emissions could cut this growth rate in half while improving animal productivity at the same time. The problem of global warming has no single solution but rather answers to many small questions, perhaps including reduced methane emissions from cows

Alan S. Miller, Executive Director Center for Global Change University of Maryland College Park, Md.

Past into Present

During the gulf crisis, TIME readers have been mining history for clues to modern times. Prior to Jan. 17, many conjured up Neville Chamberlain's bowler hat and umbrella, emblems of appeasement in 1939. An Iowan, Bruce Dougan, found that principal figures today resemble those in 1940: "Hitler is Saddam Hussein, Churchill is Bush, Ribbentrop is Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, German Jews are Kurds, America Firsters are peace activists, and all too many Congressmen are Chamberlains." Standing up for wartime press censorship, one reader critical of the TV coverage repeated a quondam slogan: "Loose lips sink ships." Some counseled the White House to note "Woodrow Wilson's patience" before entering World War I, while Potula Sitapati in India criticized both sides in the gulf war and sought "freedom from Bonapartes and Hitlers." Several letter writers reminded us that "war is hell," and that those trenchant words came

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to:

from someone who had unique experience: Civil War Union General William Tecumseh Sherman.

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Can men with high blood pressure use ROGAIRS? individuals with hyperfension, including those under treatment with antihyperfensive agents, can use ROGAINE e-monitored closely by their doctor. Patients taking guarieth-dine for high blood pressure should not use POGA



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AMERICAN SCENE

Oahu, Hawaii



Dancing on The Home Front

As their husbands battle in the gulf, wives and dependents at a Marine air base find solace in a Vegas-quality charity show

By TERESA SULLIVAN

S tephanie Bates leans into the dress-ing-room mirror and delicately readjusts a false evelash that perspiration has set askew. The women behind her scramble for their costumes, throwing off tap shoes, pulling on tights. The mood is frantic, but full dress rehearsals are like that, No one is quite comfortable with the rou-

The finale is next. Bates, calmer than most, slips into her show-girl outfit, a jeweled network of baubles and beads cascading down her lithe body. A feather from her sequined cape floats past her painted red lips, and she blows it away matter-offactly. Ten pounds of rhinestones, wires and multicolored feathers ascend 3 ft. over her head. The headdress hurts. Bates must crouch down and walk ducklike to clear the door to the stage

She takes a moment to steady herself, and the music comes up. She and the others glide gracefully into the spotlight, arms extended, costumes dazzling. Step, kick; step, kick. It's the glitzy routine you would expect from any professional nightclub act. But this show is something special: its cast is made up entirely of military personnel and their spouses.

Although she handles herself well, Bates, 39, is not a show girl. She is a Marine wife and mother, whose husband, Marine Corps Major John Bates, is one of many soldiers from the Kaneohe Bay Marine Corps Air Station who are serving in the front lines in Saudi Arabia. It's not that she and the other wives are not worried about their husbands' safety. Instead of agonizing nonstop in front of the television, however, they are occupying their time in an unusual way: dancing

"I know it sounds frivolous compared to what's going on," says Bates, "but it's a needed diversion. Otherwise, I'd just sit here with the news on, thinking about him every minute of every day." Her diversion takes the form of the Mardi Gras Follies '91. It is a charity fund raiser, staged annually by the Awa Lau Wahine, a Hawaiian term meaning Ladies of the Harbor. The group is an officers' wives club composed of Navy. Coast Guard and Marine women on the island of Oahu.

A somber mood prevailed over the usually high-spirited cast and crew as practice began on the night of Jan. 16, the day war broke out in the Persian Gulf. Bates anguished over whether or not to attend rehearsal that evening. She finally decided to go, but admitted that there wouldn't be any sparkle" in her performance that night. Her son Josh, 12, accompanied her. They needed to be together while Josh's dad was

As opening night approached, practices became more intense. There were routines to be remembered, costumes to be fitted and lyrics to be learned, and there was timing to be perfected. The gnawing fears of what was happening to their husbands in the Saudi desert slipped, temporarily, to the back of their consciousness, as director Jack Cione put his 55 charges through exhausting rehearsal routines.

Anyone familiar with these productions-and most Oahu residents areknows they are not your typical "Hey, let's put on a show" charity fund raisers. Having professionally directed and choreographed all his life, director Cione will accept nothing less than polished and professional performances, even from an all-volunteer cast. Says he: "I abhor any attempt, big budget or small, that comes off looking like a PTA production.

The gala dates back to 1955, when the women staged a Mardi Gras costume ball, presided over by a king and queen. By the mid-'60s, it had evolved into an annual onenight minstrel show. Each successive year has brought more talent and bigger audiences. But it wasn't until Cione took over as director in 1988 that the event was catapulted from an in-house variety show to a professional-quality production.

The culmination of his efforts is a power-packed 90-minute musical revue that will run for five weeks starting Feb. 7. It boasts snappy show tunes, precision tap lines, and leggy ladies in dazzling costumes dripping with sequins and feathers. All this is sandwiched between an opening carnival act that nightly crowns the king and queen of Mardi Gras, and a red, white and blue finale guaranteed to strain the tear ducts of even the most hard-nosed patriots. Though the cast consists entirely of activeduty and retired military personnel and dependents, it turns in a performance that rivals anything you'll see on the stages of Las Vegas or Atlantic City.

Cione, 64, is certain he has another smash hit in the offing: "At my age, I'm too old to turn out a flop." His confidence is justifiable. A lifelong dancer, choreographer and director, he retired to Hawaii in the '50s after making a million with a chain of successful dance studios on the mainland. But the show-biz bug was still with him. When he viewed a lackluster show at a Honolulu nightclub in 1958, he got the owner's consent to work his magic and turned it into a winning act. To give it that extra bounce. Cione had his dancers go topless. It shocked the island like nothing else since the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Audiences swarmed into the club, and Cione was given half the operation as a reward. He ultimately parlayed his success into a string of nine clubs.

Today Cione is using old costumes from his nightclub days-with some essential parts added-to grace the bodies of the officers' wives and other Mardi Gras cast members. The women, however, have no qualms about Cione's lurid past. Producer Jeanne



"I know it sounds frivolous compared to what's going on, but it's a needed diversion."



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AMERICAN SCENE

Doney, wife of the commander of the Third Feet, Admiral James F. Doney, calls Gone a miracle man for volunteering so much of this time, effort and talent to mod a military community into a theatrical trouge. For his part, Gone enjoys the chance to work with these gang-ho amateurs. "It's their positive stratude," he says. "They're living out the fantasy of what it's like to be a show girl. I love to see them blossom."

love to see them blossom."

Although this Bates first year of doing the show, she is well ahead of the rest of the group. The petitic, youthful-botking the group and the petitic, youthful-botking the group and the petitic youthful-botking the group and the group. The petitic, youthful-botking the group and th

"I start at ground zero with these wom-"says Cione. For five months, they are drilled in tap, Jazz, how to walk as a show gif, theatrical makeup and stage presence. When Cione's done with them, women who have never had Lesson I in tap will hoof their way through a 10-minute routine withhave never had Lesson I in tap will hoof their way through a 10-minute routine withute a girlet. They my not know a single ery performance. The director has a pencant for squeezing the last drop of showmanship from what he has to work with. He pushes each performer to ber limit.

But is at tase, with hat degree of commitment—both oustage and at home. Her husband John, who won three Purple Her husband John, who won three Purple Victram, has made a career of publing himself to the limit. The last time she spoke to him, just a few days before the spine spean, her saverage has a superaction of the lighting began, he seared her that the situation "isn't as bad as it sounds," Stephaniue and her son cling to those word sow. We have our highs and lows," she confides "There are times when I'm at rehearsal and think, 'My God, what and I doing here?" There's a war going on, and here we are,

dancing, as if nothing has happened."

It was back in September that John left for Desert Shield. "At that point, we figured I'd be practicing while he was away, and he'd be home in time to see the show," says Stephanie. "I like to think there's still a chance he'll be home in time to see a performance."

Whether or not that wish comes true, Best and her fellow performers take pride in the fact that their show is expected to net more than \$25,000 for both local and military charities, including the Red Cross and Navy Relief Society. Thus the cast and crew of Mardi Gras Follies '91 seem to be tapping out a new twist on an old adage: "They also serve who only sing and dance."

FROM THE PUBLISHER



marketing director Ellen Fairbanks seeks to reward readers' lovalty

"TIME is fortunate to have many satisfied long-term subscribers."

ast month President Bush took his turn at one of the oldest American traditions, reporting on the embattled but gallant State of the Union, Some Governors and corporate executives do something similar. After a turbulent year for many in our industry, but a reassuring one for us and our colleagues at Time Inc. Magazine Co., it seems appropriate to tell you something of how TIME is faring. In short, 1990 was a very good year, considering the state of the economy, thanks to the loyalty of our readers and advertisers. Despite the added economic chill that is one of many sad effects of the gulf war, 1991 looks promising too. The health of the magazine arises from the vibrancy and relevance of its content. The public apparently likes what we provide: last year 40 million Americans a week, or more than 1 in 5 adults, read a newsmagazine, and the largest number chose TIME. U.S. circulation in 1990 averaged almost 4.2 million an issue; including

those who get a copy passed along by someone else, we reach 21 million people a week. To let readers know how we value this lovalty, last year consumer-marketing director Ellen Fairbanks launched TIME Plus, a subscriber-benefits plan that includes quarterly insider reports from editorial headquarters and bureau chiefs around the world and chances to buy TIME products. As Fairbanks says, "TIME is fortunate to have many satisfied longterm subscribers. We want to reinforce the relationship.

Reader loyalty and trust are part of what attracts advertisers. Another factor is our commitment to help companies meet strategic needs through new technologies and special marketing, while maintaining our editorial independence. Creativity in advertising surely contributed to our being rated the favorite magazine of media directors and media sellers in a 1990 poll conducted by Advertising Age. It also had a lot to do with our ability to hold sales of ad pages basically even -2,728 in 1990 vs. 2,734 in 1989 in a period when most magazines, newspapers and TV stations were enduring deep cuts. As advertising sales director Steve Seabolt says, "In this environment, flat is beautiful."

But the most important fact for us every year is that our readers feel comfortable with our coverage. When the TV game show Family Feud asked people in a survey to name "a magazine you trust," TIME placed first. We wouldn't have it any other way.

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with all the tools a young writer neces.

Her premise is a simple one. "It occurred to me that more writing might take place outside the classroom if the materials were readily available." Sharon explains. "At this age, the children are discovering all kinds of wonderful things. They use the Writing Box as a partner in those experiences. It lets them express on paper what they're feeling in their own unique way?"

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Good Neighbor Award

GRAPEVINE

By DAVID ELLIS/Reported by Sidney Urguhart



Not by Brutality Alone

Iraq's dictator has long employed fear to keep his people in line. But Saddam Hussein has also tried kindness rather than killing. When the Iran-Iraq war began in 1980, he ordered 20,000 Chevy Malibus to be distributed among army officers and families of fallen soldiers. Tight money and high casualties soon forced Iraq to cancel that order after about 2,000 cars were delivered; Saddam later substituted Volkswagens and other inexpensive cars. Moreover, the Iraqi treasury pledged to pay \$40,000 to any man who married a war widow. For the bravest survivors, Saddam ordered 150 ceremonial swords (price: up to \$50,000 each), crafted in a small village in Tuscany. Last year the Italian goldsmiths may have got an early tip about the dictator's plans when Iraq placed an order for 100 fancy sabers. Twenty were delivered just four days before the invasion of Kuwait.

Saddam Slept Here

Saddam can seek shelter in a palace bunker some 40 miles out of Baghdad, but allied forces are unlikely to find him there. During wartime, the Iraqi leader makes a habit of hiding in civilian areas. A Shi'ite opposition leader recalls that his cousin's family was rousted by soldiers at dawn several years ago. The group was sent to Baghdad's Al Rasheed Hotel for the next 24 hours before being permitted to return home. Only then did government officials tell the family that Saddam had spent the previous evening in its quarters. In thanks for the coerced hospitality, he sent the family a suite of designer furniture.

A Quagmire To Come? Iraqi soldiers in Kuwait City

have taken up residence in thousands of the city's apartments and have been ordered to fight to the death, according to a Palestinian economist who left the occupied country in late January. Dislodging the wellarmed soldiers will involve "house-to-house, street-tostreet fighting," says the Pales-tinian. He confirms that Iraqis have mined refineries, government buildings and large homes to prevent the allies from establishing forward positions. In the process, citizens have been left without shelter. "I have seen with my own eyes that Iraqi soldiers are dug in everywhere, and they will use the local population as shields," he adds.



The Comic-Book War

Leave it to the Japanese, who take their meticulously drawing adult comic books seriously, to publish the first cartoon transcription of the war. Japan's news-teed Multinational Forces, which features a variety of war scenarios, Released on the day the war started, the 300-page collection was an immediate hit. But some of the scenes of com-

bat are improbable, showing Japanese and German soldiers participating in the conflict and U.S. forces staging a fake attack on fellow warriors to jump-start the war. The Japanese, however, prove to be inept on the battlefield. In one scene a band of soldiers engrossed in pornographic magazines take a wrong turn in the of their capital proposed in promographic proposed in promographic magazines take a wrong turn in the of their explosive-laden truck just before it accidentally blows up.

Gephardt's Head Cheerleader

Is House Speaker Tom Foley offering more than just moral support for a Dick Gephardt presidential run? Last week the Missouri Congressman got a surprise boost from Foley, who said he "would have no objection or concern about" the majority leader retaining his House post while

House post while making a bid for the presidency. This reduces the political gamble for Gephardt by keeping his seat warm in case he

or v. e e c c y at e

loses the nomination. Moreover, Foley's endorsement gives Gephardt an excuse to back away from the pledge he made in 1989, when running for the leadership post, that he would not seek the White House in 1992.

Fall Guy for the Chief of Staff?

White House officials say the surprise departure last week of Ed Rogers, John Sununu's top political aide, is in part an attempt by the chief of staff to paper over his own mistakes. Rogers had built a reputation as Sununu's enforcer, and was expected to be his boss's eyes and ears in the 1992 re-election campaign. But the chief of staff alienated so many Bush supporters over the past five months that damage control became necessary. Exit Rogers. Already, Sununu is having trouble finding a replacement. Said one official: "Sununu has managed to poison relationships with a lot of people, mainly through Ed. So guess who goes? Ed."

DEMOCRATIC HOMEWORK

Washington may be focusing on the war, but Democrats are planning a campaign on social issues. Their prospects:

Civil Rights. Calling it a "quota bill," Bush vetoed last year's legislation, a broad antidiscrimination act. This year the Democrats plan to avoid racial overtones by recasting the measure to focus on the rights of working women. Debate will be fierce, but passage is near certain.

Family Leave. Another veto victim in '90, Bush supports the concept of unpaid leave for employees but feels the government should not compel businesses to provide it. Passage, which is likely, may force the President's hand again.

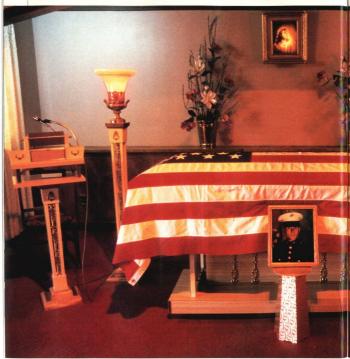
Taxes. The G.O.P. wants a cut in capital-gains taxes but won't fight very hard for it. Democrats aim to counterattack by proposing a cut in Social Security payroll taxes for the middle class. Passage is probable, with some Republican support.

Medicare. The Democrats agree privately with Bush's plan to make affluent retirees pay higher premiums for Medicare coverage. But the Dems will hesitate because any such "means testing" could turn Medicare into a "welfare-type" program that would lose support among the middle and upper classes. Chance of passages slight.

Education. The Democrats would love to upstage the "education President." They dream of everything from an overhaul of the student-loan system to an upgrading of teacher training. But since there's no money, there's no chance for major legislation. THE HOME FRONT

War's Real

A small California mining town mourns a native son killed in



The Gulf War

TIME/FEBRUARY 18, 1991

By MICHAEL RILEY COULTERVILLE



Last Saturday they buried Thom Jenkins beneath the soaring pines of California's Sierra Nevada. As silence again envelops Dudley Cem-

etery, echoes of a U.S. Navy chaplain's words linger: "Thomas Allen Jenkins, your sacrifice will not be forgotten. Your courage stands as a beacon of liberty. You exemplify the U.S. Marine Corps motto, 'Semper Fidelis.'"

Lance Corporal Jenkins was one of the first ground soldiers to be killed in action in Operation Desert Storm. He turned 21 last August, just two days before leaving for Saudi Arabia. He was killed, perhaps by friendly fire, in a clash near the Kuwait border. On Feb. 9 he returned home to Coulterville in a flagdraped casket, both a hero and a haunting reminder of war's real cost. His handsome freckled face reflects the human toll of a conflict sanitized by high-tech smart bombs and camouflaged by antiseptic acronyms like KIA (killed in action).

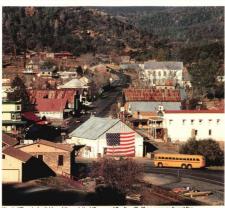
Big cities may be able to absorb the death of one young man with indifference, but in flaces like Coulterville (pop. 115) the loss strikes home with intense personal force. "If I could trade for Thom, I'd do it," says the distraught Marine who helped recruit him. "Poor kid."

Shortly after the Marine messengers appeared on Tom and Joyce Jenkins' front porch with the horrible news about their only son, the word blazed across these drought-stricken mountains like a runaway forest fire. The close-knit community of this historic goldmining town, one of simple values and sturdy folk, circled its wagons around the family, including Thom's sister Jamie, 19, in a show of patriotism and support. But the Jenkins' self-less stoicism is even more telling. "Our boy came home, and we know exactly where he's at," says Joyce, 39, who drives a school bus. "But there's lots of other men and women over there who need our love and support." She

Cost

a desert hattle in Saudi Arabia





Word of Thom's death blazed through the hills around Coulterville like a runaway forest fire.

wears a sweatshirt with a yellow ribbon and a simple message: 'TIL THEY ALL COME HOME.

American flags and yellow ribbons adorn almost every house, pole, tree and era artenian in Coulterville, for here patrictus is a solemn duty. These people despise antiwar protesters, and they consider few acts more herinous than flag burning. So if anyone here believes Thom died in vain, he is keeping it to him-elf. Teepide dowe him as a hero, "To me, the 'my son." Tom has only simple requests. "Please be kind." he asks. "Please be honest. Don't be too big, because it's not real."

After arriving in Saudi Arabia with the 1st Combat Engineers Battalion, Thom fought brocdom by keeping pet scorpions—the first one, named Maurice, died; the other was called Hormer—in a camoultaged desert shelter. In one letter home, he pleaded for Tabasco to spice up his rations, and in anional salon on Main Street from burning down so they could enjoy his first legal beers there upon his return. At home, a Queensland heeler puppy named BB, and a cat named PJ, are

still waiting for him.

Protected by a web of friends, the Jenkins family spoke to no outsiders during the week following Thom's death. When they finally did, it was to reminisce for several hours as the warram winter sun sank behind the mountains. They shed no tears, but rather smiled and even laughed as the memories poured forth. Though pain seemed to burn in their eyes, the healing had begun.

Just five days after hearing of Thom's death, his parents received a letter written a few days before he died. He wrote that he had never seen so many planes in his life, and that he expected to head into Kuwait after the bombing had softened up the Iraqis. He had latched onto an infantry corporal who knew his business. "He's teaching me a lot," Thom wrote. "It's weird, but I'm not scared. Nervous, I guess, but not scared. I've been preparing for this for a year now, and [Aunt] Jean would probably say I'm brainwashed, but I've joined the Marines to do something for the U.S., and why not the best?" The letter ends, "Take care. I love vou."

Last Christmas his parents sent Thom a 35-mm camera, and the photos from the roll he mailed home in January are among his family's greatest trea-

sures. One shows Thom clowning around in a red-checked kaffiveh under a camouflage net. Another portrays him standing in his tent, an M-16 on his arm and a cigarette hanging jauntily from his mouth. Several others show his light armored vehicle, hauntingly dubbed "Blaze of Glory." Painted on one side is a cartono of an armed Saddam Hussein atop a camel, his body framed within the cross hairs. Says Dan Bartok, Thom's boss back when he spent a summer fighting fires for the U.S. Forest Service: "We figure he'd have pulled the mustache off of Saddam Hussein."

Thom's roots are deep in the rocky mountain soil, stretching back seven generations to Coulerville's first settlers. His forefathers arrived in the 1850s, shortly after the California gold rush began. This proud heritage infused every bit of his 6-li. Jin., 180-lib. frame. In some of Thom's desert pictures, his greenish-brown eyes, often hidden behind mirrored sunglasses, are filled with the gint of a growing confidence as a son good sunglasses, are filled with the gint of a growing confidence as a son growing confidence as the sunglasses are filled with the gint of a growing confidence as a son growing confide



he spent weekends playing survivalist in the mountains around his family's 160-acre ranch up toward Yosemite. His high school classmates picked him as the best companion on a desert island.

Though Thom took a lot of teasing about his paramiliary pursuits, he facinated some kids at Mariposa County High School with tales about a secret cave called Havoc, where he claimed to have stored a cache of weapons. Thom could identify knives and guns with uncanny precision, and his military obsession gave rise to nickname, "Gl. Lenkins," Another was "Indiana Jones," and Jones and J

Friends recall that if Thom dove into something, from pregney medical training to playing basketball in high school, he gave it his best. "He never made the first string, but he was always close," says Jon Turner, his English teacher and a Victnam vet. "If he got in, he'd win the game for you." That was

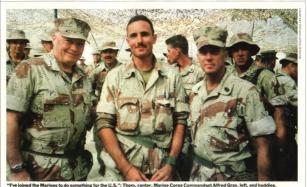
The community circled the wagons around Tom and Joyce Jenkins in a show of patriotism and support. Said Tom: "People do view him as a hero. To me, he's my son."

true whether he was square dancing as a kid or out on a county search-and-rescue mission. His steady marksmaship enabled him to bag a four-point buck, whose weathered rack sits on a fence beside his house. Around town, folks knew Thom was coming when they saw "Baby Huey," a battered green-and-rust 1972 GMC pickup. He would zoom through mud puddles in it, yelling aft friends, "Just like a Jeep commercial".

Though Thom had long wanted to join the Marines, the first time he talked with his dad about it the answer was no. Tom wanted his son to go to college. So he studied criminal justice for a year, planning to become a peace officer. But he got restless and asked again. This time the answer was yes. Explains Jenkins: "I have a saying—save the boy, destroy the man."

At least 15 other local men and women are in the gulf, a consequence of the convergence of patriotism and economics

The Gulf War



in rural America. Their parents are proud but also worried that their child could be next. At home, TVs blare incessantly. Parents stay awake at night hoping for reassuring phone calls from the front. They get headaches. They cry, they hug, they pray.

There was some talk around Coulterville about building a permanent memorial for Thom, but it has been silenced, "We're postponing that decision because he may not be the only one," explains Sharon Tucker, a close family friend. Thom's cousin Ed Jenkins and his friend Jason Turpin are signed up to join the Navy this summer, after they graduate from high school. Ed is the last male in the Jenkins line. "I don't know whether to serve

my family or my country," he says. But in his heart he knows he will join the

Navv. The last time Tom Jenkins saw his son alive was after drinking several cups of coffee with him at the breakfast table three weeks before he left for Saudi Arabia. Two days before the funeral, Tom paid a solitary visit to the funeral home in nearby Sonora. He propped Thom's wooden-framed portrait in front of the gunmetal-gray steel casket, then stood quietly to one side, his eyes misting up. It was the first time he'd been alone with his son since Thom returned from the Persian Gulf. "Good memories flow," said Jenkins.

"They just keep flowing." Shortly after Thom's death, this poem "for Tommy J." from "Kathy B." appeared on local bulletin boards

When Old Folks Die I Don't Cry It's Time

When The Young Ones Go It Grieves Me So

Who Can Count The Cost Of A Young Life Lost?

The Sharpest Sorrow Is For What Might Have Been



s: cousin Ed, center; Jason, left, and Scott Turpin.



Ordering a J^EB.

Calculus of Death

Bush's decision on if and when to start the land war hinges on factors involving a grisly estimate of killed and wounded

By GEORGE J. CHURCH



"The number of Americans killed will exceed tens of ₹ thousands if a ground battle occurs with Iraqi forces . . . which are trained in defensive combat to an extent that

no other force in the world has reached." -Baghdad Radio

Boastful propaganda? Of course, but

George Bush for days to come. The President, his generals and allies emphasized last week that he alone will make the fateful decisions whether and when to start a ground offensive-a campaign that Baghdad Radio says Iraq "is waiting impatiently" to fight. But if he gives the go signaland it is increasingly difficult to see how he can avoid doing so-he enters into a grisly calculus of death.

The body bags that became a repellent

with just enough potential truth to haunt | cliché of pre-Jan. 16 antiwar oratory, and that have been so remarkably scarce through the first three weeks of actual war, might pile up quickly, though probably nowhere near as high as Saddam Hussein's propagandists suggest. But how many soldiers' deaths are likely if the attack begins next week, the week after, a month later, two months later? How many Iraqi civilians might die in the meantime from U.S. bombing? What number of casualties, and over how long a period, can the U.S. stand



without a disastrous loss in public support for the war? Conversely, how many more Iraqi civilian deaths, real or alleged, can the Arab world witness without an almost capally devastating accelerated swing to support for Saddam? And can the allied coalition hold together, especially if Soviet support softens—as Mikhail Gorbachev's weekend statement suggests.

weeken desided when the supposes a condecided when he will decide But all indications are that the first Rubicon has been seen-eighths crossed. The President asserted he is "somewhat skeptical" that air power alone can drive Saddam's forces out of Ku-wait, and others were far more categorical. Lieut. General Sir Peter de la Billière, Brit-ish commander in Saudi Arabia, called a ground campaign" investable. "No matter Sir Peter, it is "minor, compared to what they've got coming."

The rationale for the land campaign—driving Iraqi forces out of Kuwait—by definition means seizing and holding ground, and that is one thing air power cannot do; only tanks and infantry can. Saddam could

denly pull his troops out voluntarily, or those troops could be so worn down that they surrender en masse. But a commander who bases his plans on any of those things would be taking almost as much of a chance as the restaurant customer who counts on paying for his dinner with the pearl he hoose to find in an owster.

If a land offensive seems certain, however. its timing and intensity are not. Much guessing focuses on late February or early March. French President François Mitterrand said flatly last week that the ground attack would begin "in the next few days, if not later, in any case sometime this month." But some Congressmen attending a closed-door briefing by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin Powell last week came away with a different impression. As Democratic Representative John Spratt of South Carolina put it, "I didn't get the sense anybody is pushing for a hurry-up ground war.'

The generals talk less in terms of time than of conditions. The primary one is that a land offensive should be launched only fenses to the maximum extent possible. There is agreement that, as one Congressman emerging from the Cheney-Powell briefing said, "we're still some distance from achieving the necessary kill level of tanks and artillery." But how soon might that point be reached? That, says General Norman Schwarzkopf, top allied commander in the gulf, involves a "compendium of actual results, measurable results, estimated results, ancedotal reports and gut feel."

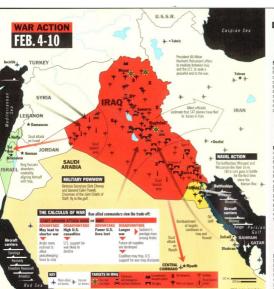
To put all those considerations together, Bush dispatched Cheney and Powell to the gulf to talk with Schwarzkopf and other allied commanders. They were scheduled to return Sunday, and will give Bush their recommendations on whether the ground war should be launched and when.

TROLLING FOR TRUCKS

That does not necessarily mean that a hard-and-fast decision, let alone a deadline, will be fixed immediately. The initial determination could be to wait, say, two

Loading missiles aboard a tank-busting A-10





GULF CALENDAR

MID-FEBRUARY
THRU MID-

Shamal winds. These hot, oppressive winds last from one to five days and, a line and early July, can continue almost without cessation. They can reduce visibility to almost zero, making navigation difficult. Shamels can also produce strange atmospheric conditions, sometimes causing fever, flu, respiratory allergies and marked changes in most.

MARCH 17 TO APRIL 15

Ramadan. One of the most important-and demanding-months of the Islamic year. Observant Muslims will abstain from food, drink, smoking, sex and even niections, from sunrise to sunset, March 17 to April 15. The holiday will almost certainly intensify political and religious passions. particular impediment to waging war. Allied officials say Arab governments in the alliance have assured them that Muslim transwill receive special religious dispen sation to fight during this period.



Muslims are required to perform the Haji, or pilgrimage to Mecca, at least once in a lifetime. Mass travel to Saudi Arabia begins early in June, with the holiday reaching its high point June 21-22. Up to 2 million people participate each year.

more weeks and then reassess. It may take at least that long just to judge how much damage the stepped-up allied air assault is doing to Iraqi troops, weapons and supply lines—a question that is already dominating public discussion of the fighting.

With air raids averaging one sortie a minute, according to the allied command, the war can hardly be said to have hit a lull. But last week was the first that brought no new oil spills. Iraqi raids into Saudi Arabia or any other surprise developments, just more-or less-of the same. Less: the pace of Scud-missile attacks on Israel and Saudi Arabia dwindled further: Israel went five whole days without being the target of even one. More: additional Iraqi planes fled to safety in Iran (the total is now said to be 147), though for the first time, American jets shot down six before they could cross the border. And there were more allied bombing and strafing runs than ever.

The big change is a perceptible shift in the type of bombing, toward the sort that would pave the way for a ground offensive. American and allied planes are still carrying out the kind of "deep penetration" strikes on factories, communications facilities, bridges and other fixed targets that began Jan. 16: Baghdad late last week had been hit 22 nights in a row-every night since the war began. But by last week the majority of strikes consisted of what military men call battlefield interdiction-direct attacks on Iraqi tanks, artillery, troops and supply lines. Often the targets are not even specified in advance; pilots simply fly around looking for whatever prey they can find, a practice they call trolling. Says Lieut, Colonel William Horne, commander of the Marine 224th Squadron at a base in the gulf area: "Before, I went after a bridge. Now I'm going after a category of targets, for instance, 'movers' [like tanks and trucks] down the road.

The Iraqis, however, have been adapting to such tactics. Horne's pilots, for example, report that Iraqi supply columns increasingly have been broken up into small groups of perhaps five trucks or cars to

avoid presenting concentrated targets. Saddam's soldiers also have become ever more expert at decoy practices. They put aluminum sheets under camouflage netting to confuse U.S. radar, build small fires under metal plates that infrared sensors aboard a smart bomb might read as the engine heat from a tank, and set off smoke pots to tempt aviators into reporting bomb hits that never happened.

Determining how many hombs have struck such phantons and how many have hit real targets is no mean trick. One American report quoted Pentagon sources as figuring that the fighing efficiency of the Republican Guard, Saddam's best troops, had hardly been denich but General Michel Roquegolfre. And the struck of the struck of the struck has it had been lessened "between 20's on that as of last week the bombing had destroyed 600 of 4,000 fraig itanish believed to be deployed in Kuwait and 4,000 to not a dummition out of an esti-



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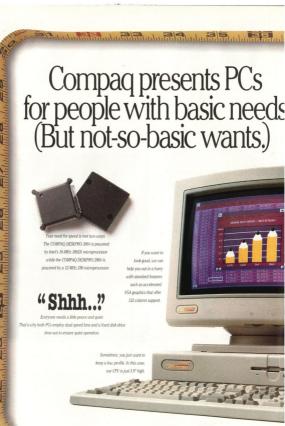
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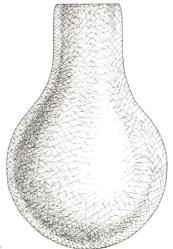




Everyone agrees we'll soon be needing more electricity. But there's little agreement on how to get it.
Especially with the environment at stake. ** Hydropower is limited by geography. Nuclear
energy's problems continue to be debated. And the sun, the wind, the tides—they re all attractive,
but none is economically practical on a broad scale yet. ** So, for at least the near future, we're
going to have to rely, for the most part, on fossil fuels. ** But all fossil fuels are not created
equal. One is clearly best for the environment. And that's natural gas. ** Natural gas for
produces less carbon dioxide emissions, it produces no sulfur dioxide, and it creates

no particulates — the visible smoke you see. All of these are serious air pol-

lutants. La further, because new high-efficiency, gaspowered generating plants are relatively simple
to build, gas is also one of the quickest and
cheapest ways for producers of electricity to increase
their output. La In short, if natural gas didn't exist,
we'd have to invent it. As it is, nature has given us
vast resources of natural gas
right here in North America. It
iust seems natural to use them.



mated 300,000 tons that Saddam's forces have stashed away. A U.S. briefing officer claimed the number was 750 tanks destroved, along with 650 artillery pieces and 600 armored personnel carriers.

While that would certainly mark progress, it also indicates that the Iraqis still have more than enough weapons and ammunition left to put up a savage fight on the ground. True enough, the tactical bombing will be stepped up steadily from here. But almost everyone agrees that more bombing is needed before the time looks anything like ripe for a ground assault. Two more weeks would bring the date close to the end of February. By coincidence or not, that is also the long-

standing target for the last American troops and weapons being sent to Saudi Arabia to be in place and trained and acclimated to desert conditions-in other words, ready to fight.

WHAT'S THE RUSH?

A considerable body of U.S. political and military opinion, however, favors holding off not for weeks but for months, if not forever. The argument, in essence: Baghdad Radio was telling the truth when it said Iraq is waiting eagerly for an allied ground offensive. Saddam's strategy has always been to inflict unacceptably heavy casualties on allied forces, and mowing them down as they move through minefields and across ditches filled with burning oil offers his only chance to do so. But why play Saddam's game? Air power is the allies' overwhelming advantage: it should be used to the maximum extent possible

En route to Saudi Arabia. Chenev identified as "the No. 1 priority" expelling Iraq from Kuwait "at the lowest possible cost in terms of loss of U.S. life." That is precisely why a land offensive should be put off, argues the bomb-for-months school; prolonged bombing holds the best hope of saving allied soldiers' lives. The more tanks, troop bunkers and supply trucks that can be destroyed from the air, the less bloody an eventual ground assault will be. For Iraqis too, in fact: the pounding they are taking hunkered down in foxholes and bunkers is minor compared with what they will face if they have to come out into the open to fight allied attackers.

This line is being voiced largely by people who prior to



Massing for the "mother of battles"; Marine amphibious assault vehicles line up to refuel in Saudi desert

Jan. 16 favored giving economic sanctions | a lengthy trial before any use of force at all. Some refer to bombing as "sanctions with teeth." But it also is coming from bipartisan hawks. Maine Republican William Cohen, an influential member of the Senate Armed Services Committee who voted for the resolution authorizing Bush to use

force, publicly urged the President last week to pursue the air campaign exclusively "for the next several months." Wisconsin Democrat Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, similarly warned against "danger . . . that we will go to the ground war too soon," And one member of Bush's unofficial five-man

war cabinet asserts that the Administration hopes bombing will so cripple Iraq's fighting ability that an eventual ground offensive "will be nothing more than a

mopping-up operation.

In Need of Protection

A s a ground war in the gulf comes closer, so does the prospect of chemical warfare. If U.S. troops have to fight on a poisoned battlefield, will their gas masks and protective suits keep them safe? The not completely reassuring answer is, Yes, but

The American military gas mask, the M-17, was designed in 1955 and has not been significantly improved since. It has complicated straps and a hood that take time to sort out when delay can be fatal. Its filters are good for an hour or more in mustard gas but cannot be changed while the mask is being worn.

One of the most outspoken critics of U.S. antigas equipment is Evan Koslow, former editor of the technical journal Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Defense & Technology. He says the M-17 mask "gives very limited gas protection" compared with those produced by other NATO countries, most of which are more modern. He also claims that the protective clothing the U.S. uses can be penetrated by chemical

The Pentagon denies those charges. The M-17 mask and suit, says an Army spokesman, "will protect our soldiers." Martin Calhoun, an analyst at the independent Center for Defense Information in Washington, agrees: "The M-17 does its job." A study by the Government Accounting Office in 1986 found that while U.S. gear was old and bulky, it offered sufficient protection.

The U.S. Army's attempts to produce a modern gas mask have cost \$100 million but have been delayed 20 years by false starts and contract cancellations. Amid the praise for the Pentagon's high-tech weapons, its low-tech failures should also be noted.

THE CASE FOR SPEED

There are some military reasons for a relatively quick start to the ground war. The air campaign eventually reaches a point of diminishing returns, when all the obvious and easy targets have been blasted. Only hardened and elusive ones remain, and hitting them requires more and more bombing to produce less and less effect. Maintaining the fighting edge of allied troops becomes more difficult the longer they sit in the sand. And the longer they wait, the greater the chance that coalition troops would have to fight in searing heat. If Iraq uses poison gas and the allied troops had to don bulky protective clothing, they could quickly reach the limits of physical endurance.

The most important arguments for speed, however, are political. The more protracted the war, the greater the chance that proposals for a compromise settlement that would leave Saddam a menace for the future would gain support. Iran made some mysterious noises about such an idea last week but got no takers. That situation might change in a month or two.



Trying to decide: Cheney gets the views of Saudi Assistant Defense Minister Utman al-Humaide while Powell huddles with Shwarzkopf in Riyadh

though—particularly if the Soviet government softens its insistence that Saddam must get out of Kuwait. And Moscow seems to be falling under the increasing influence of military men who still feel nostalgia for the old alliance with Iraq and distress at the idea of a victorious American army perched virtually on the U.S.S.R.'s southern doorstep. In a statement Satur-

day, Gorbachev warned that the gulf war might begin to exceed the U.N. mandate and said he was sending an emissary to Baghdad.

The heaviest pressure is coming from the Arab world. With every day that Iraq holds out against the assaults of a coalition led by the world's sole surviving superpower. Saddam becomes more of a hero to

masses of Arabs who have long felt humiliated by the West. And that is one problem that a prolonged bombing campaign will not ameliorate. Quite the contrary, it gives Iraq ever more opportunity to propagandize about civilian casualties.

Already the Saddam government is daily escorting foreign journalists to bombed-out homes, schools and the like,

Dodging Friendly Fire

araqi tanks perched on the north side of a sand ridge near the Saudi-Kuwait border were firing at a company of U.S. Marines on the south side. The Marines were returning fire with TOW antitank missiles. Overhead, a U.S. Air Force A-10 Thunderbolt swooped toward one of the Iraqi tanks and released a heat-secking Maverick missile.

But instead of flying straight for the target, the missile was diverted by the hot exhaust of a Marine light armored vehicle that stood between the U.S. plane and the Iraqi tank. The Maverick smacked into the left rear side of the LAV, blowing up the vehicle and killing all seven Marines inside.

The tragic exchange was one of the first engagements of the ground war, an opening volley in the 36-hour battle of Khafji. It also represents this war's first documented case of U.S. casualties from "friendly fire"—a combat euphemism for troops' getting shot, shelled or bombed by their own side.

Friendly fire bedevils every war. Many World War II veterans recall running for foxholes whenever U.S. planes approached. In one of the worst cases on record, the Eighth U.S. Army Air Force bungled the bombing of enemy lines shortly after D-day in Normandy. Their explosives hit the Army's VIII Corps, killing more than 100 soldiers and wounding 500. As in other such incidents, the G.I.s on the ground tried to defend themselves by firing back at their own planes.

The U.S. armed services have developed elaborate—albeit imperfect—systems to avoid friendly fire. To prevent mishaps like the one near Khafji, Marine air-support planes carry laser-guided versions of the Maverick missile that must be guided to their targets by the pilot. Though not as smart as the infrared models favored by the U.S. Air Force, which can be fired and left to track the target on their own, the laser-guided Mayericks are less likely to mistake a friend for a foe.

Warships and attack planes carry electronic ID systems, like the FF (febrification Friend or Foe) radio transponders that are standard equipment on military and civilian aircraft. A missile battery equipped with Fera "interrogate" an aircraft by beaming a radio signal at it and listening to the answering squask. But the system is not foolproof, in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, Arab batteries fired 2,100 antiatrcraft missiles and destrowed Saircraft —45 of them Arab, 90 Israeli.

Since JPF transponders are impractical for ground forces, activately many constant radio contact with forward air controllers, whose job it is to track the shifting batter lie lines and point out ennyt tragets. Before an attack plant can launch its missiles at a lraqt tank, an x-c must identify the target dieder that particular plane + mo" and swich on the targeting authority on the plant's computer. + mo" and swich on the targeting authority on the plant's computer, in "and a tright, when everybody's moving and talking on the radio, there's no guarantee that everyone's in the right place at the right time."

No one knows that better than General Norman Schwarzkopf. Not only was he once bombed by U.S. B-52s in Vietnam, but he was the commanding officer of a young lowa farm boy, Michael Mullen, whose death by U.S. shelling became the subject of C.D.B. Bryaris 1976 best seller, Friendly Fire. scenes that are running almost nightly on American TV. The allies insist they are going out of their way to avoid civilian targets. and the record bears them out. Baghdad's own figures on civilian casualties, while hopelessly confusing, are remarkably low, given the length and intensity of the bombing. But there is no way to entirely avoid the killing of civilians, and Saddam seems to be trying to provoke more by putting military installations among them-placing antiaircraft guns on top of apartment houses, for example. Thus a dismal equation: more bombing equals more civilian deaths equals an ever greater chance for Saddam to portray the war as an assault by Western co-Ionialists and Zionists against the entire Arab world.

Optimists insist that Arab governments that are members of the alliance—predominantly

Saudi Arabia and Syria—can maintain control, despite the surge of pro-Saddam feeling. Congressman Aspin concedes the growing strength of that sentiment. But he asserts that "those who might fall out of the coalition, either because of the impact on their public of the damage being inflicted on Iraq by the air campaign or because they want to pursue a diplomatic solution

that falls short of our war aims, are not vial to the milliary campaign." Maybe, but some of the staunchest U.S. allies do not want to take any chances. "We quite frankly underestimated the support for Saddam in the Arab street," says a Saudi minister. "If we don't move to cut that off as quickly as we can, the postwar peace will be harder to fashion than even the most pessimistic among us have thought."

British diplomats say Bush has written to Arab members of the coalition, pledging not to delay the ground war beyond this month. White House officials strongly deny that, but they readily admit that several Arab coalition partners are pressing the President to begin the land offensive within the next few weeks to bring the war to a relatively speedy end. Thus one central question in the decision could be bluntly phrased this way: How many American and allied soldiers' lives is it worth to cut off pro-Saddam sentiment among the Arab masses before it burgeons enough to threaten both the war effort and the eventual neace?

In an airborne briefing en route to Saudi Arabia, however,



Egyptian soldiers guard Iraqis who surrendered—but will bombing break the morale of more troops?

Powell cautioned against the idea that the "ground campaign, as the night follows the day, means huge casualties." Saddam may be planning a Verdun in the sand, but allied commanders insist they are not going to oblige him by relying primarily on frontal attacks on the impressive Iraqi fortifications. The campaign instead is likely to combine a flanking maneuver around the

lines in Kuwait, with paratroop drops and amphibious landings behind those lines.

Most of all, as Cheney and Powell insisted to the point of monotony, a ground war would not be just a land battle but a combined land-air assault. They even talked of the ground campaign as a kind of supplement to a continued and intensified air war. The likely meaning:

the aim of all the assaults would be to draw the Iragis out from their fortifications and into a war of maneuver. Iraqis are not considered good at such fighting, and, more important, they would be doing it without vital air cover. Frontal attacks. where they occurred, would be preceded by heavy aerial bombardment and would be aimed at piercing holes in the lines, which the Iraqis would have to try to seal off by counterattack. That would require them to come out into the open and expose themselves to pitiless bombing and strafing.

Such tactics might indeed hold down allied casualties. But there is no getting around the fact that the toll of soldiers killed in a day of land fighting-even the delayed, low-intensity mopping-up operation that some airpower advocates still foresee-is likely to exceed by far the number of pilots lost in a month of the most ferocious bombing. Deciding whether and when to start a ground offensive inescapably turns into pondering a calculus of death. -Reported by William Dowell/Dhahran, William Mader/London and Bruce van Voorst with Cheney

and Dowell



Iraqi women passing rubble left by U.S. bombing of Baghdad

AUGUST 31

44 In a day he would be decimated. It would be over in a day, 77

-Captain Jay Yakeley, commander of the air wing on the U.S.S. Independence, **New York Times**

44Air power is the only answer that's available to our country 77 to avoid a bloody land

> -General Michael Dugan, Air Force chief of staff, shington Post manage

SEPTEMBER 16 NOVEMBER 8

66And I would think that when he [Saddam] surveys the force that's there...he wil recognize that he is up against a foe that he can't possibly

militarily, 77

-President George

Bush, White House

news conference

NOVEMBER 18

that would be over in a matter of days. 77 -Lieut. General Sir

Peter de la Billière, British commander in Saudi Arabia. cribing a potential war with Iraq

DECEMBER 31

44 If force is necessary, it will be quick, massive and decisive.77

-Vice President Dan Quayle, speaking to troops in Saudi Arabia

JANUARY 8

441 judge the risk of a bloody campaign, with casualties in the 10.000-to-20,000 range, including

several thousand fatalities, to be small.99

-Report by Wisconsin Representative Les Aspin, chairman of the **House Armed Services** Committee

The Gulf War

PERCEPTIONS

Sorting Out the Mixed Signals

Bombarded with conflicting messages about the length of the war, many are confounded about what to expect next

By WILLIAM A. HENRY III



By any objective standard, the gulf war has gone well and the outcome seems about as assured as anything can be in an uncertain world. Why, then, do so many Americans (and, seemingly, citizens

of other coalition countries) have a vague feeling of unease, if not outright disillusionment, that the fighting seems nowhere near a conclusion? After great expectations of a relatively easy victory, the U.S. public has settled into a more realistic, in some cases too pessimistic, view of what is to come. The initial uncontested air raids and gee-whiz video glimpses of bombing turned out to be less decisive than they seemed in the first flush of euphoria, and the dream of immediate surrender has deteriorated into occasional fears that nothing will crack Saddam Hussein's will. Although polls released last week show

an increase to about half in the number of respondents who expect combat to last six months or more-considerably longer than White House and Pentagon officials predict-about four-fifths of those polled continue to support the war. That is much more upbeat than in France, where a Paris Match/B.V.A. poll last week showed that 70% of respondents feared degeneration into a third world war. But the hint of U.S. pessimism underscored a widespread feeling that the American people had been misled, or perhaps been encouraged to mislead themselves, about how hard it would be to dislodge Iragis from Kuwait.

The people who might logically be charged with evoking this excess cheerthe military, the Bush Administration and Congress, foreign leaders and the news media-are quick to point out that they voiced caution before the confrontation and again even during the elation of its first days. Yet many of these same people also aired speculative scenarios that were much more optimistic. They veered between ebullient optimism and tight-lipped restraint as they tried to sustain public support and coalition unity, and keep pressure on Saddam, without building up unreasonable hopes. Not surprisingly, much of the public chose to hear and believe the ebullience more than the restraint.

It is only human nature to wish for the best, to recoil from the prospect of massive cost and suffering. In this instance, optimism was further fueled by vivid memories of the two-month war in the Falklands, the nine-day conquest of Grenada and the 14day ousting of Manuel Noriega as dictator of Panama. While repeatedly reminding audiences that Iraq is a better entrenched and more highly armed opponent than the loser in any of those conflicts, President Bush also recurrently promised that any battle against Iraq would in no way resemble the "protracted, drawn-out war" in Vietnam. On Jan. 16, the day battle began, Bush said, "I'm hopeful that this fighting will not go on for long and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum." His words were carefully crafted to be bolstering yet noncommittal. But one could hardly blame the public for taking them, even in the context of his other cautions, as a virtual pledge of a short war.

Nor was Bush alone in such forthright optimism. Senators Daniel Inouve of Hawaii and Ted Stevens of Alaska returned from the gulf in December and said they had been told by military officials that a war with Iraq could be completed in five days, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said Saddam's expectation of victory showed he was "living in another world, and predicted his troops would yield within three or four weeks. While few others were

JANUARY 17

44We are prepared to continue the operation just as long as we need to in order to achieve our objectives . . . That could be a significant period of time, or it could be a relatively short

Dick Cheney,
Pentagon news

period of

time. 77

JANUARY 21

441 feel quite sure that a protracted ground war, in the sense that I think you're talking about one that takes

one that takes months or years—yes, can be avoided. ??

Lieut. General
Fhomas Kelly, director
of operations for the
Joint Chiefs of Staff,
Pentagon briefing

JANUARY 31 FEBRUARY 6

441 think it may take three or four weeks, something like this.79

- Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, ABC's Primetime Live

-Secretary of State
James Baker,
speaking to the House
Foreign Affairs

Committee

44The task is

formidable, and

no one should

underestimate

Saddam's

military

FEBRUARY 6

44Things are going darned well over there. I feel very confident that this matter is going to resolve itself, and it's not going to take that long, and it is going

to be total and

-Bush, at a bill-

signing ceremony

complete.77

FEBRUARY 7

441 believe the land war is inevitable. There is no indication that the Iraqi army is going to crack in the immediate future. ##

-Sir Peter, in Saudi Arabia

daring (or imprudent) enough to offer a precise timetable, many military and civilian officials described the potential conflict as lopsided and brief. British Defense Minister Tom King told the House of Commons in December, "It will be short, sharp and quick, and the casualties on the allied side will be kept to a minimum."

The word quick can mean vastly different things, however, as Representative

Barbara Boxer of suburban San Francisco indicated in January during the course of the House floor debate against the war. Although she argued that any amount of combat would impose too steep a price, she conceded to colleagues. "We will with this war—quickly! Maybe two weeks, maybe two months—that's quick. Maybe at most six months—that's quick, although different share and the state of the share of the state of the share of the sh

The news media have dutifully reported both optimistic and pessimistic assessments over the months but have shown a readier appetite for in-your-face remarks than

cautions. That was certainly the experience of retired Admiral William Crows, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Appearing on Anei S. This Week with David Brinkley last August, Crowe predicted, "In on today, later," He added that both sides would pay a terrible prize. He words were would pay a terrible prize. He words were words, often with the warning omitted. There are pregnantic reasons why jour-

nalists may, at least subconsciously, have erred on the side of enthusiasm. They want cooperation from military officials, without which any war on this difficult terrain would be almost impossible to cover. And they are eager not to be accused of being so skeptical that they are unpatriotic—a charge that was widely leveled during Vietnam, arose in Grenada and Panama and is surfacing again.

Even with the purest motives, the media have been led astray by an irreconcilable variety of expert opinion. Stories happiest rather than the likeliest, they were widely reported and believed by news consumers seeking reassurance.

Once battle began confusion was com-

Once battle began, confusion was compounded by the use of such terms as air supremacy and precision bombing, which mean something particular to military officers but carry more sweeping implications for the untutored listener. The peculiar physical circumstances of the war, which so far have afforded reporters few direct op-

> portunities to witness the air batlet for determine the impact on Iraq's forces, further fueled the optimism. The military has controlled much of the information flow—and has understandably stressed its achievements.

Defense Secretary Dick Chenywarred, at the end of the first week of battle, that "a military operation of this intensity and complexity cannot be scored every evening like a college track meet or a basketball fournament." Yet the Pentagon went on releasing, and the media went on using, comparative statistics that did resemble scores, accom-

panied by bombing footage that offen called to mind a Nintendo video game in which the U.S. team was skunking the opposition. It has often been said that sport is the modern lightning rod for the tribal loyposition. The soft of the robe of the tribal loybe surprising that war should be comediated like sport, with tub-thumping emphasis on two one-sidedly the home team will some onesided that the said of the said of the said of the manufact future. In war, misguided optimism can be as dangerous as any other stray was designed to the said of the said of the said of the Washington, with other barway.



simistic assessments over the Optimism balancing pessimism: Pentagon briefer Thomas Kelly

based on Air Force sources have tended to be more upbeat about what in strikes alone could accomplish; stories based on Army sources have naturally tended to emphasize the importance of ground troops. From mid-August to mid-January, bestfrom mid-August to mid-January, bestwar, with U.S. dead no more than a few hundred. They were offered by White House, Pentagon and Congressional officials, who sought to buoy public support yet not make it so contingent on optimism anairos were usually characterized as the

THE ARAB WORLD

The Fuse Grows Shorter

Each day that Saddam survives the war he becomes more of a regional hero while the image of his opponents grows increasingly menacing

By LISA BEYER



Saddam Hussein may have figured it right if he was calculating that he could win on the Arab street even while losing in the skies and the sands of the gulf. Each day that the allies throw their best punches at him and leave him standing, Saddam's prestige among ordinary Arabs grows. And so does hatred of the U.S. and its coalition partners-at least in certain

"The U.S. pretended to come to free Kuwait, but instead it is bombing the Iraqi people," says Mohammed Kamal, a Jordanian senator and former ambassador to Washington. Even in Saudi

Arabia, many citizens, disturbed by the ferocity of the air strikes on Iraq and widespread expectations of a drawn-out conflict, harbor doubts about the wisdom of the war.

Even where attitudes have not changed much since the battle's onset, governments remain edgy. In Egypt, for instance, though opposition to the fight against Saddam remains limited to a relatively small group of leftists and fundamentalists, authorities cracked down hard on the first, small anti-U.S. demonstration, which occurred last week. When the participants refused to disperse, 200 riot police waded into the crowd and arrested a handful of protesters.

The stakes in the battle for public opinion are especially high in three places:

In Jordan, Palestinians show which side they are on: popular opinion there, which is almost uniformly pro-Saddam, was one reason for King Hussein's tough speech last week

JORDAN The King Speaks Out

rom the beginning, Jordan's King Hussein has professed neutrality in the gulf confrontation, though by allied lights he has tilted toward Saddam. In an uncharacteristically sharp-tongued television address last week, the King appeared to abandon his balancing act and instead focused on blasting Baghdad's challengers. The war in the gulf, said Hussein, is "against all Arabs and Muslims, not only against Iraq." Its "real purpose," he went on, is to "destroy Iraq and rearrange" the Arab nation so as to put "its aspirations, and resources under direct foreign hegemony." Such a speech, playing up the themes of Muslim unity and foreign designs on the region, sounded a lot like recent pronouncements from Baghdad

Washington's public reaction to the King's outburst was mild at first. President Bush said the Jordanians had "made a mistake to align themselves so closely with Saddam," but added that he had tried to understand the pressures on King Hussein. By the next day it was clear that the President, who last Christmas sent King Hussein a card bearing the inscription "I'm still your friend!," had lost his patience. The Jordanians, Bush said, "seem to have moved over, way over into Saddam Hus-sein's camp." That, he said, "complicates" U.S.-Jordanian relations. The White House announced that it was considering withholding aid to Jordan, which was expected to total \$55 million for 1991.

While those who know him say King Hussein is genuinely bitter that the U.S. attacked Iraq, his behavior is also clearly influenced by popular opinion in Jordan, which is avidly—and almost uniformly pro-Saddam. Says Samuel Lewis, former U.S. ambassador to Israel: "The King is concentrating on riding his domestic tiger."

In the early days of the war, Amman was unexpectedly quict, in part because the efficiency of the police, who have stationed the efficiency of the police, who have stationed partos along major roads to prevent unrest. Since the people and government in Jordan have the same position on the war, the friction that gives rise to protest is also reduced. In addition, the country's relatively free press serves as a vent for popular fury. Nonetheless, in recent weeks, extremists have short at or set fire to overall Western Cultural Center, a branch of the British Bank of the Middle East and a parked en belonging to the U.S. milliars vataché.

The attacks caused no injuries but helped persuade the State Department two weeks ago to ask all 5,000 Americans still in Jordan to leave and to draw down the U.S. embassy in Amman to a skeletal staff. That only elicited more vituperation from Jordanians, many of whom believe the move was unwarranted and calculated to tarnish the country's reputation.

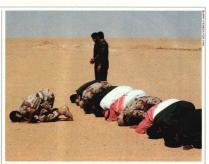
The massive scale of the allied bombings of Iraq has stunned and outraged many. "We thought Americans were civilized," says Sheik Muhammad al-Faiz, a prosperous landowner who lives south of Amman. "But now we see that they are savages." The fact that Jordanians have died in the attacks has further inflamed emotions. As of last week, 31 Jordanian trucks, which Amman says were carrying oil, had been hit on the Amman-Baghdad highway, killing seven of the drivers and wounding ten. Jordan officially protested to the U.S., which replied that it had good information that Iraqi war materiel was being moved in convoys containing civilian oil trucks, making them legitimate targets.

Meanwhile, Iraq's missile strikes on Israel, while militarily insignificant, have proved a political bonanza for Saddam among the Arab masses. "It was incredible to see Tel Aviv in a panic," says Amman businessman Ahmed Abdul Khaleq. "This is the strength of Saddam. For once, we can hit the Israelis."

SAUDI ARABIA

Qualms Among The Protected

In Saudi Arabia, Saddam has no following to speak of. The Saudis remain unwavering in their disdain for him and in their opposition to his invasion of Kuwaii. Still, some Saudis are privately beginning to question the conduct of the war, Washington's motives for waging it and the consequences for Riyadh's future relations with other Arab states.



Saudi soldiers pray in the desert: even in Saudi Arabia, where Saddam has no following to speak of, people harbor doubts about the wisdom of the war and U.S. motives in waging it

Many Saudis, naively, were shocked to learn that the war will be neither fast nor paniless. "Truly this war is worse than Sadam," says a religious teacher in the Eastern province, expressing a level of dissent rarely heard in his tightly wrapped society. "The Americans are testing their weapons on our Arab people," he says. "They promised this would be quick and it is not."

The shifting objectives of the U.S. have raised suspicions. Some Saudic complain that first the Americans said they would complain that first the Americans said they would raise then that they would use force to push Sad-dam from Kiuwai; now they are making it plain that by pursuing targets deep inside firat, they also mean to emasculate the Iraqi militany. Says a Saudi journalist: "I think week as the Veca for the sake of Sranch."

Some Smolds are also questioning the Particle Control of the Some Smolds are also question of the Some Smolds are also question of the Some Smolds are also question to the Some Smolds are also questioned and the Some Smolds are also questioned and the Smolds are also provided the Smolds are also provided and the Smolds are also provi

Saudi Arabia's religious conservatives and Arabia's religious conservatives are particularly dismayed by the presence of non-Muslim soldiers in the kingdom and the destruction of a neighboring Arab country. Warns a prominent Saudi prince: "If the government does not sort them out" —that is, contain their influence—"then in ten yearse well have a Khomeini-like regime." With this in mind, the government has arrested a number of Islamic activities.

THE MAGHREB

A Torrent of New Converts

While Jordanian antipathy to the war was expected, the reaction in the Maghreb was something of a surprise. There, pro-Iraqi passions have grown so strong that they threaten to destabilize the governments of Morocco, Algeria and

Tunisia. Sympathy for Saddam has been expressed most freely-and violently-in Algeria, whose reforms two years ago made it the most democratic of the North African countries. Soon after the war erupted, the opposition Islamic Salvation Front, which has unsuccessfully pressed the government to organize training camps for volunteers to fight for Iraq, led 400,000 people in a march through Algiers carrying signs such as MITTERRAND ASSASSIN. BUSH ACCOM-PLICE. A follow-up rally two weeks ago attracted 60,000 people. In angrier manifestations of popular feeling, protesters in Constantine sacked part of the French consulate and set fire to the Air France office. In the capital, the bureau of the French news agency was fire bombed and a French teacher was beaten and stabbed.

Faced with such fervor, President Chail Bendjedid has attempted to ride the popular wave so as not to be enguifed by it. Though he initially condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, he proclaimed in a recent radio address, "Algeria stands at the side of its brother Iraq." At the same time, Bendjedid does not want to give carte



At last week's march, Moroccans shout their support for Baghdad: popular sentiment in the Maghreb has forced governments there to express solidarity with Iraq

blanche to the Islamic Salvation Front, which took a majority of the seats in the country's first municipal elections last June and could well dominate a parliamentary vote this spring. In a statement, the government denounced "those who, under the pretext of circumstantial solidarity with the Iraqi people, want to impose an Islamic dictatorshin."

Like Bendjedid, Tunisia's President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali is trying to tack with the wind, but it is a fierce one. Support for Saddam has unnerved Ben Ali enough that he gave a speech condemning "the destruction and devastation of Iraq," which

he said went "beyond the tolerable." Tunisia has stepped up security patrols in the cities to prevent demonstrations. Unauthorized protests still occur every few days, to be broken up by police, often brutally. At the start of the conflict, Ben Ali had the leaders of Ennauthalia, the principal Islamic organization, rounded up and palled. Uncowed, Laberation Party, proclaimed a holy war to chase the "miscreant" Westerners from the gull.

Popular sentiment has forced Morocco's King Hassan II to make an even

sharper turnabout than his Algerian and Tunisian counterparts. Grateful for generous Saudi aid in his war against the Polisario Front rebels in the Western Sahara. Hassan contributed 1,300 troops to the allied coalition. But when opposition parties and trade unions declared a general strike two weeks ago to denounce the other properties of the counterpart of the other country, allowed the protest to take place.

Hassan also agreed to permit a proraig march last week. Attracting 300,000 people, it was the biggest demonstration since Morocco's independence in 1956. Although the King had forbidden criticizing the depolyment of Moroccan troops to the gulf, some marchers did so anyway, in an unusual display of defiance in a country astightly controlled as theirs. An estimated 25,000 Islamic fundamentalists brought up and the country of the control of their strength ever seen in the country.

The greatest danger for the leaders of well-aimed all these countries—short of a well-aimed tetrorist's bullet—is that the humilitation of a Muslim leader at the hands of infidels, particularly a leader who dared to confront Israel, will fuel religious externism. "This is a religious war," says Khaled Saleh Khle-flat, a Koranic teacher in Jordan. "It will promote Islamic nationalism throughout the Muslim world."

The bitter irony is that even Saddam's followers recognize him as a thoroughly secular man who uses religion only when it is expedient. It is a testament to the power of Islamie solidarity that such a prodigal son can draw the Muslim ranks around him in a crisis that he provoked. — Reported by Margot Hornblower/Paris, Lara Marlowe/Dhahran and James Wilde/Amman

On the Disco Front

I ot is a quarter to one in the morning, and Medo, a 16-year-old Kwaalti, is chatting with his friend and compatriot Khaled, 22, as they prop up a wall at Sultana's, the third-floor disco at Cairo's Semiramis Inter-Continental. "Cairo is boring," grumbles Medo, Khaled murmurs in agreement as he eyes the action on the floor. "I come here every night," Medo says, "There's nothing else to do.

Nothing to do! Their country has been snatched by a thire! Americans, Egyptians, Britons and Saudis, among others, are brawing the gulf deserts and Saddam's rockets to win it back for them, and these two alth-bodied young men say there is nothing to do. For those who do not think Kuwaii is worth the flight, the habits of Medo and Khaded are all the anacodatal evidence needed to prove the Kuwaitis are a spoiled and arrogant bunch.

But Kuwaii's elders do understand the problem. One exile group in Cairo has sent flyers to the 7,000 Kuwaiti families in the city, asking them to behave modestly and stop gathering conspicuously in public. Sober-minded Kuwaitis insist that their boogie-loving brethren, featured prominently in the Western media, make up only a tiny minority of their countrymen. "A lot of the criticism is bitter and not deserved just because there are a few crazy people," says Adeeb Essa, spokes-

man for the Association for Free Kuwait in London. In fact, while Kuwaitis were the most notorious among the gulf nationalities for flaunting their wealth and easy lifestyle, the Aug. 2 invasion was a cold shower for most of them. Though a few youths still dance the nights away, many of their peers are at the front. An estimated 23,000 Kuwaitis are believed to be under arms in Saudi Arabia. Only 7,000 are military personnel who escaped from Kuwait; the rest are volunteers. When an exile group in Cairo organized a training program for nurse's aides, 500 Kuwaitis applied for the 120 slots. Other displaced Kuwaitis are preparing for new lives in a liberated Kuwait by taking courses in such things as automobile repair, plumbing, electrical wiring and, for women, housekeeping. In the past, foreign laborers did such work, but the new Kuwait is expected to be much more selfsufficient. Perhaps Medo and Khaled figure they'd better party while they can.



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ISRAEL

Angling for the Postwar Edge

Fearing pressure to compromise with the Palestinians, Yitzhak Shamir carefully plots his strategy

By JON D. HULL JERUSALEM



What a difference a war can make. Before the allied bombing of Iraq began, Yitzhak Shamir seemed destined never to win any popularity contests. Devoid tubborn and introverted, the

of charisma, stubborn and introverted, the Prime Minister often provoked yawns in Israel and angst in Washington.

Ever since air-raid sirens first wailed throughout Isnach, however, Shamir has been praised for his unprecedented restraint and calin leadership in the face of at least 31 Scud missile attacks that have left at least four dead and more than 300 wounded. George Bush has telephoned more often in the past moth than in the past the past work of the past something at home have never been higher.

But Shamir is far too suspicious to fall for such flattery. Instead, he is already strengthening his defenses for the political battle he believes Washington and the allies will wage against his hard-line government once the smoke clears over Kuwait. Fearing renewed pressure to compromise with the Palestinians, Shamir is taking ad-

vantage of his sudden popularity to shore up support in Congress, further discredit the Palestinians and harden his own government against any territorial concessions.

The Likud Party leader dug in deeper last week by appointing extremist ex-General Rehavam Ze'evi as Minister Without Portfolio and a member of the Cabinet's defense committee. If Shamir intended to dampen speculation about what Secretary of State James Baker called "opportunities to build a more secure world order," he picked the right man. Ze'evi, whose Moledet (Homeland) Party holds two Knesset seats, advocates the transfer to neighboring Arab states of all 1.7 million Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza.

The appointment shocked even Shamir loyalists. Raesset member Benjamin Begin warned that any member of the governing coalition who advocated a transfer policy "is, in effect, confirming the United Nations resolution that says Zlonism is tantamount to racism." Shamir sought to downplay the controversy as parry politics, insisting that transfer was out of the question. After a stormy Knesset debate, the nomination was approved by a vote of 61 to 54.

Shamir's willingness to expend goodwill attests to his determination to buttress his government against any future political offensive by Washington. With Moledet, Shamir's coalition has 66 of 120 seats, lessening his dependence on the pivotal but fickle religious parties and assuring him that he can keep the Labor Party on the sidelines. More important, Ze'evi's presence signals to both the West and the Arab

world that Israel has not gone soft.
Despite a warning last week by Depuly
Chief of Staff Ehud Barak that the milintys "fingers itsel" to carry out a retaliation against Iraq, Shamir is unlikely to give
the go-ahead in the near future unless additional missiles cause significant essagities or contain chemical warheads. Though
his restraint is billed as a tremendous sacrities, his states os for is based entirely on
criful Arab foe is being destroyed, at least
80% of Israelia are against immediate retaliation, and the government is scoring
valuable points with Washington.

In return, Shamir is hoping for lenient treatment once the U.S. turns its attention



For resisting retaliation, Shamir wins praise from the West In return, he hopes to harden his stance against the Arabs.

to the Arab-Israeli conflict. He may be in for a surprise. Says a U.S. diplomat: "We're going to owe some Arab countries much more than we owe Israel." Distrusting Bush and Baker, Shamir is banking instead on the support of Congress, which will have its eye on the 1992 elections.

As a precaution, Shamir has also promised to revive his own peace initiative, which he buried last year after Baker took it seriously. The plan called for direct peace talks with the Arab states, as well as a clections in the territories to choose leaders who would then negotiate limited autonomy with Israel. This time Shamir hopes to quash the P.L.O. S campaign for a Palestinian homeland once and for all,

Palestinan homeland o while demanding that Arab nations end their state of beligerency with Israel. He says, "Arafat and his lik are the biggest supporters of the murderer in Baghdad. The time has come for the international community to distance itself from this terrorist organization." That process is already under way, Says Samuel Lewis, former US, am-



ehavam Ze'e

Lewis, former U.S. ambassador to Israel: "The Administration has learned the need to deal with the Arab states at least in parallel with the Palestinians."

While fending off unwelcome peace probes. Jerusalem intends to transform the widespread sympathy in the U.S. into billions of dollars in additional military and financial aid. Last month Finance Minister Yitzhak Modai estimated that Israel would need \$3 billion to cover war-related costs and \$7 billion to \$10 billion more in grants and loan guarantees over the next five years to help absorb Soviet Jewish immigrants. The angry response in Washington forced Shamir to backpedal furiously, and the figures are now described as mere talking points.

The war against Iraq has improved both Israel's image and its security. But unless Shamir can adapt to the postwar order, those gains will be short-lived. So far, his ambitious strategy looks disastrous. As long as he refuses to deal with the Palestinians, he cannot expect peace with the Arab states. Nor will Washington automatically provide the billions in aid needed to house and employ Soviet Jews. If Shamir simply chooses to hunker down and avoid compromise, his nation may find itself even more isolated than it was before the war. -With reporting by Christopher Ogden/Washington



PUBLIC OPINION

Can the Pro-War Consensus Survive?

In Korea and Vietnam, backing for war dissolved as the death toll mounted, but that pattern might be broken by a decisive U.S. victory

By NANCY GIBBS



What would it take to shatter the consensus behind George Bush's policy in the gulf? A meat-grinder war of attrition, strewed with melting bodies in charred

tanks? A female prisoner of war paraded on videotape? A bombed-out Statue of Liberty, sinking in tiny copper pieces to the bottom of New York harbor? Conventional wisdom holds that if a ground war begins and the body bags start piling up, backing for the war will dissolve. This is not just the expert condescension that assumes Americans will sustain a war only as long as it mimics a video game. The judgment is based on what happened in Korea and Vietnam and on the alchemy of public opinion. Before the bombing in the gulf began, a majority favored letting sanctions work; afterward, pollsters registered 80% approval for Bush's handling of the crisis. In light of America's Vietnam memories. the shimmving of the popular will raises tough questions about the true firmness of support. Those questions, in turn, make the job of the President and his generals immeasurably harder.

While the generals direct the fighting, the President must direct the theater. Recently, Bush has missed no opportunity to cast the war in moral terms and has rarely been so eloquent as when expressing his conviction that this is a fight between good and evil. To focus on the heroism of allied forces and the villainy of Saddam Hussein lends the story line a moral clarity that Vietnam utterly lacked. "Our patriotic impulse is also a moral impulse," says Professor John Schutz, who teaches a history course at the University of Southern California called "Patriotism and the American Spirit." "I notice that George Bush spends a lot of time in church or on the air saying this is a just war. Vietnam wasn't defined that way. It wasn't justified in the public mind.

But the justice of a war depends on its means and costs as well as its ends, and the Administration has struggled to manage these as well. For once, the peppy President is wary of cheerleading. He wants to send the message that the war is going well, but at the same time he fears the unreal expectations of a quick and bloodless victory that the footage of "smart" bombs can raise. For all the effort to manage the news-banning the shots of flag-draped coffins at Dover Air Force Base, spooning out upbeat statistics at briefings, keeping the press pool tightly leashed-the fact remains that this is a war of uncontrollable images. It unwinds at high velocity on live television, and the audience reacts just as quickly. "In earlier wars, even in Vietnam, it took months and years for public opinion to shift," says a senior White House official. "In this age of real-time journalism, our concern is that any major setback or anything that hurts the Administration's credibility could send public support sliding in a matter of weeks.

The longer the war lasts, the more pressure the President will feel. Saddam may be an archetypal villain, but the more apparent that becomes, the easier it will be to conclude that his people have already suffered enough. Stories of Iraqi commanders shooting deserters on the spot make it hard to demonize the teenage conscripts on the Iraqi front lines. And if it is possible to pity the enemy soldiers who are being "softened up" by B-52 bombers, it is easy to ache for the civilians trapped inside a nation pounded by an aerial assault they could do nothing to prevent. While Americans wince at the sight of wounded children and grieving mothers, the phrase "collateral damage" is a Band-Aid on a gash in the public imagination.

This helps explain the great care with which the war has been fought to date. Bush has won tremendous support for the measured, multinational approach he has taken since Aug. 2, collaborating with the U.N., the Congress and other Arab countries. The extraordinary efforts American pilots have made to avoid civilian targets have not been lost on the public.

The irony is that the President's cautious strategy has not always meshed well with his rhetoric. While actually conduct-

Yellow ribbons in East Sandwich, Mass., honor people who have written letters to the troops; Army recruits take the oath of allegiance at Fort Jackson in Columbia, S.C. ing a limited war, he has promised that American soldiers will not fight "with one hand tied behind their backs." The mismatch between Bush's words and deeds could lead to confusion in the public mind.

"Americans have a very difficult time understanding and accepting limited war." soys UCLA history professor Robert Dallek. While he and other historians note that support for the Korean and Vietnam wars fell as all-cut, no-holds-barred battle might have done less damage to public opinion. Even at let height of the 1968 Tet offensive, when public opinion sharply tipped against Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policy, the dissenters were evenly spill between those who it founds to the control of the control of the public opinion sharply tipped against Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policy, the dissenters were evenly spill between those who it founds throre aggressively.





The debate over whether to let sanctions work or send in the bombers has now evolved into a debate over whether to let the bombers work or send in the tanks. To carry the public along, the Administration must take care that its decision to launch a ground offensive not be perceived as reckless, born of interservice rivalry or political pressure. No one knows better than those in the White House that a ground war would be ghastly. The most searing words of caution come from those who, like Bush, have seen war for themselves, "These kids just do not know what they are going to see when the shooting starts," says Herbert Dennard, a railroad inspector in Macon, Ga., who was a 19-year-old Marine in Vietnam in 1965. "And their parents will never know the horror of their deaths. They'll be heroes for being gung-ho.

Some Administration officials fear the popular mood might spin when the ground fighting begins. "So far, the U.S. causalties have been so low that people haven't really had to view this war in terms of the cost in lives," admits a White House official. Others note that patriotism is easy on the cheap—and that nothing would concentrate the public mind more quickly han reinstitution of the draft. "That would really part the lat in the fire," say Dallack. Balls had a large press conference last week that he had "absolutely no intention of reinstating the draft, and the state of the draft of the state of the stat

But though the prevailing opinion is

Do you thin			
will be wor			in
American lives and other			
kinds of co	sts?		

YES 58% NO 31%

If a ground war occurs, do you think it is likely that:

American forces will suffer a high number of casualties

rom a telephone poll of 1,000 American adults taken for TIME/CNN on Feb. 7 by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman agreeing error is obes or misses 3%. "Not some" condited

The allied ground forces will be able to end the war quickly lraq will use chemical or biological weapons against troops

that support will fall if casualties soar, the calculation may be more complicated. To begin with, the war in the gulf is not a unilateral guerrilla war to suppress a national liberation movement; it is a strugele to

evict an invading army from a neighboring country it is occupying in defiance of the U.N. A ThmE/CNN poll conducted last week by Yankclovich Clancy Shulman found that 79% expected U.S. casualties in a land war to be in the thousands or tens of thousands. Despite such catastrophic losses, 58% said they believe the war would

be worth the toll in American lives.

Though such opinions could rapidly shift in the face of an actual bloodletting, similar results in other surveys have delighted officials in the Administration, who

low much longer do you think ne war against Iraq will last?

4 weeks or less 6%
1 to 6 months 48%

6 months or more

ikely that:

83% lv 50%

75%

believe the polls indicate there is overwhelming support for its actions. It is a measure of White House attention to public opinion that such polls are cited in detail not only by political advisers but also by war planners like National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft. Even high casualties might not make much of a dent. To win sight not make much of a dent. To win ground," says Isaac Freeman, a deliveryruck driver in Washingtom, "To hii 'em on the ground we're goman hawe to accept that a lot of people will die."

One lesson gleaned from Vietnam is that the nation will not accept a bloody stalemate. If young lives are to be lost, Americans want at least that they not be wasted. "We're in this thing now—we can't

ELCOME TO THE UNITED STATES ARMY



just walk away," says James McKeown, a commercial developer whose company headquarters in Woburn, Mass., is wrapped in a huge yellow bow three stories high and 22 ft. wide. The way the soldiers die could also have an impact. If thousands are slaughtered by poison gas, the rage for revenge could quickly drown the outcries for withdrawal.

withdrawal.

Finally, a victory may offset the cost in lives and treasure. "Any mil-itary adventure, however poorly conceived, however dubious the strategic objective, is absolutely validated by victory," says former Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt, a history buff, "Once we commit to the use of force and it's decisive, then the cost is automatically worthwhile, without any exceptions

in the course of American history."

A more expiral prediction is that those deaths, like so many other violent and untimely ones, could eventually lose their impact on the American psyche. Tianammen Square, Panama, Lithuania all captured the nation's attention and held it briefly before they smeared into |

held it briefly before they smeared into background noise. Since the fighting began, many more people have died on America's highways or by gunfire in its cities than in the sands of the gulf—but at the moment, the soldiers' deaths matter more, since



Killed in action: rites for Marine Sergeant Garrett Mongrella Will the consensus last as the body bags start coming home?

right now they loom larger than life. The perverse calculus of morbid fascination holds that once the soldiers have become statistics, public opinion will move on.

For all the speculation about the nation's uncertainties, some predictions are widely shared. In interview after interview, people affirm that no matter how awful the war might become, support for the soldiers will hold firm. 'This is a real legacy of Victnam," says Boston business consultant Jack Caldwell. "People seem determined this time not to blame the troops, never to leave them unsupported."

them unsupported."
So far, nothing indicates that
public support for the war is a
whim. Having been chastised in the
past for the restlessness and impatience with which their nation conducts its affairs, the majority of
Americans seem to regard the battle as a duty that must be borne.
It is a duty that must be borne.
It is

Unshackled by the vagaries of public opinion, despots find it easier than do the leaders of democracies to march their countries into battle. But once they begin a war, Americans have an appetite for vic-

tory. If Saddam Hussein is betting that antiwar protests can grant him a triumph he cannot win on the battlefield, the odds are much against him. —Reported by Robert Alemian/Boston, Dan Goodgame/Washington and losesh I. Kane/Allanta

Shooting the Messenger

Though most Americans have pondered their country's march to warwith a certain amount of common sense, the same cannot be said for all their representatives on Capitol Hill. In recent weeks the halls of Congress have been founded by superpatriotic blasts from a small band of conservative legislators. In a throwback to the most divisive days of the Victnam cannot be superpatriotic blasts from a small band of conservative legislators. In although the control of the control of the victnam and the control of the co

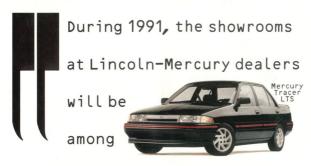
During the debate on granting the President authority to use force against Iran, Gerald B.H. Solomon, the ranking Republican on the House Rules Committee, lambasted antiwar protesters. They are, Solomon intoned, "unshaven, shagehaired, drug-culture poor excuses for Americans." Then Solomon aimed his rhetorical blunderboss at Bryant Gumbel, of suc's Today show, who had expressed surprise at polls showing that most Americans led the government was telling the press and the success of the success of the protection of the denthy. [Gumbel] can't bear the idea of an American victory, He wants another American humilation, another Victnam."

In a similar vein, Bob Dornan, a G.O.P. colleague from Calfornia, took a shot at Gss. He charged that "for Gunga Inten-Rather], the more radical the cause, the more aritime it receives." Taking aim at a different target, House minority with New Gingrich last week blasted Speaker Tom Foley for appointing to the Intelligence Committee liberals "who don't believe in intelligence gathering". Of the jingoistic broadsides so far, the ugliest was issued tast week by Wonima Republican Ana Simpson, who crupied ower Cxn8's reporting from Baghdad. Not content to raise legitimate questions about the network's airing of censored material. Simpson, citing an anonymous source, accused Cxn Arctic 16 he only overspondent for an Iraqi "sympathizer." What evidence did the Senator have, other than the fact that Arnett is the only correspondent for an American news organization reporting continuously from Baghdad since the war for the contract of the Iraqi government? Well, said Simpson, in a befuddled attempt to establish guilt by association, Arnett "is married to a Vietnamese whose brother was active in the Viet Cong."

In fact, the New Zealand-born Arnett and his wife have been separated for years. And although some friends and family members differ about the alleged Viet Cong connections of Arnett's in-laws, the issue is beside the point. Asked to explain the relevance of his remarks, an unrepentant Simpson would say only that such information is often revealed about public officials, rarely about journalists. Arnett, he added, "is being coddied by an enemy government."

Journalists should not be immune to criticism. But neither they nor anyone else should be the target of gratuitous, unfounded attacks on their loyalty and integrity. Whether or not Simpson and the other Capitol Hill fire breathers realize it, that was one of the lessons of the Victnam War.

- By Stanley W. Cloud. With reporting by Hays Gorey/Washington

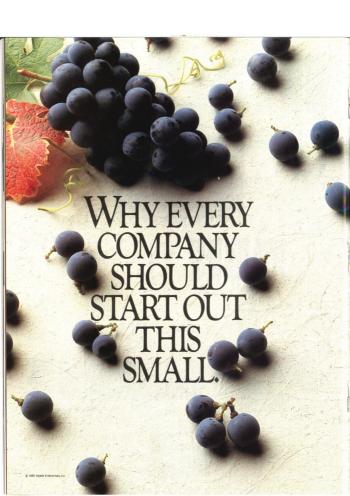


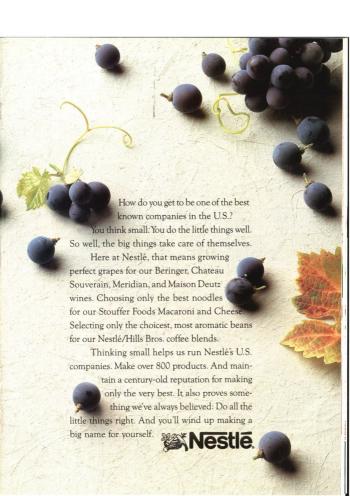
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Jumping Out of the Pool

A growing number of reporters are circumventing military restrictions in hopes of getting a better picture of the war

By RICHARD ZOGLIN



Carl Nolte, a reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle, spent his first few days in Saudi Arabia wandering around Dhahran's International Hotel, mostly reading pooled reports from his peers. Then he moved to Rivadh, where he sat in on mili-

tary briefings. Finally, exasperated, he climbed into his rented Chevrolet Caprice and simply headed north. He got lost sev-

eral times on the poorly marked roads but eventually hooked up with U.S. troops, who complained to him about everything from inadequate supplies to late paychecks. Nolte duly sent the news home. "If you sit around waiting for the scraps to be fed to you," he says, "vou're going to get the kind of things a dog gets: leftovers." Military officials refer

to Nolte and his roving confreres as unilaterals. Reporters prefer to call them free-lancers. More bluntly, they are pool busters: reporters who are circumventing the superintended pool system imposed by the military to limit the number of journalists venturing into the Middle East battlefield. In the grand tradition of buccaneering war correspondents, these reporters

are taking risks to give audiences a fuller picture of what is happening in the gulf.

Journalists in Saudi Arabia have been griping about the pool system since before the war started. One fear was that military censors, who screen pool dispatches, would purge any material deemed unfavorable to the military. Despite a few incidents of tampering, that has not happened. But editors and reporters have a more basic objection: the news emerging from the pools is too limited, and often too late, to be of use in the competitive climate

The battle for Khafji was a case in point. Though pool reporters were stationed with the 1st U.S. Marine Division outside the Saudi city, they were not allowed into the town until 18 hours after fighting started between Iraqi armor and coalition forces. Early accounts of the bat-

tle came mostly from reporters operating on their own. One of them, John King of the Associated Press, sneaked into the city on the first night of fighting and watched as Arab troops tried to retake the town. "The pools did not get an accurate view lof the battle] because they didn't see it," King, "They wrote that the Saudi and Oatari liberated the city, but they had no realistic view of how long it took, what happened or how many Iraqis were in there. The best footage of the battle came from two French TV crews and a team from

In the field: a French TV crew interviews members of a helicopter combat unit

Britain's Visnews, which were in Khafji well before U.S. pool cameramen. (Little of this was seen on American TV.)

Free-lancing reporters have scored many other coups. Some of the first shots of the mammoth Iraqi-instigated oil slick came from a British ITN crew fully two days before pool footage arrived. A group of nonpool journalists driving near the Iraq-Saudi border last week got a scoop when four hungry Iraqi army deserters approached them and surrendered. Complaints about the pool reports have been growing. "Why didn't we get the oil spill? Why wasn't a pool on the [battleship] Missouri when it fired its guns?" asks Thomas Giusto of ABC, who is coordinating pool coverage for the four U.S. networks. pools have not been granted access to things when they are happening."

Military officials continue to claim that the pool system is the best way to protect allied forces from being overwhelmed by reporters and to safeguard the journalists. The disappearance of CBS correspondent Bob Simon and his three-man crew, whose vehicle was found abandoned near the Kuwaiti border almost three weeks ago, weighs heavily on journalists, but it has not dampened their desire to do more independent reporting. "The last thing Bob Si-mon would want," says the A.P.'s King, "is for us to stop covering the war because he disappeared.'

Though there are no formal penalties* for violating the rules, U.S. military officials have reported offenders to the Saudis, who have temporarily revoked some press credentials. For that reason, editors are reluctant to admit that they are encouraging reporters to break the pool re-

strictions. But it is clear that the practice is at least tacitly condoned. Robert Rosenthal, foreign editor of the Philadelphia Inquirer, says he tells his gulf reporters to "use your initiative to do what you can safely."

hough pool busting appears to be on the rise, it is by no means always successful. Two A.P. reporters who showed up uninvited last week at the U.S. 24th Mechanized Infantry Division were detained for three hours and then sent back to Dhahran. A French TV crew that arrived on the outskirts of Khafji during the fighting was greeted by angry shouts from attending pool reporters. According to producer Alain Debos, the

crew was forced at gunpoint by Marines to give up videotape it

had shot of a wounded U.S. soldier Some correspondents argue that the tight military restrictions add to the dangers they face. To skirt the rules, many are disguising themselves as military personnel, thus increasing the chances of being mistaken for combatants by the Iragis. But even obeying the regulations can be hazardous. After pool reporter Douglas Jehl of the Los Angeles Times reported 50 U.S. military vehicles were missing, officials complained that his story, which had been cleared by censors, was contrary to the "best interests" of the military. They ordered him to leave the pool. Incidents like that will not make reporters any more eager to play by the steadily fraving rules. -Reported by Lara Marlowe and Dick Thompson/Dhahran

The Energy Mess

In the new plan the White House is about to unveil, Bush offers half a loaf: a boost for domestic oil drilling, short shrift for conservation

By RICHARD LACAYO

ome lessons are hard to learn. Three times in the past two decades, the U.S. has been burned by its unbridled appetite for energy and its dependence on foreign oil. First came the OPEC embargo in response to the Arab-Israeli war of 1973. Iran administered the second oil shock six years later. Both episodes produced some national hand-wringing and a spate of conservation measures that cut imports in half between 1977, their peak year, and 1985. But when world oil prices collapsed in 1986, the nation's per capita oil consumption began to climb again, the fuel efficiency of American cars slid downward, and oil imports returned to the levels of the 1970s

Now comes the bill for that profligacy. U.S. troops are lighting a war spurred at least partly by fear that Saddam Hussein's seizure of Kuwait would give him decisive control over the Middle East's oil. With the real cost of energy dependency—in both dollars and lives—more apparent than ever, Americans may at last be receptive to a durable energy plan. And George Bush is prepared to lead them to it, but only halfway.

Next week the President is expected to unweil a national energy policy that will favor increased use of natural gas and nuclear power and stepped-up oil exploration—including a controversial proposal to drill in the Artic Mational Widliffe Refuge. But the plan is almost certain to ignore any significant steps to promote conservation. Most notably, although automobiles, both and trucks account for two-thirds of U.S. of use, the program is expected to shun the office of the program is expected to shun the office of the program is expected to shun the office of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the control of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to shun the distribution of the program is expected to the distribution of the program is expected to the program is expected to

Nearly two years have passed since Bush asked Energy Secretary James Watkins to shape a plan. Watkins, former head of Ronald Reagan's commission on AIDs, conducted 18 public hearings and waded through 22,000 pages of written comments from individuals and organizations. From these, he culled dozens of proposals, which he forwarded late last year to the White House's Economic Policy Council, where many of them were handled like incoming Scuds, shot down quickly before they could have any impact.

The big gunners were three White House aides Bugde Director Richard Darman, White House chief of staff John Sunu and Michael Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. The trolks treated most measures that would compel conservation as unwarranted government proposals just got basted by Sumunu, Darman and Bookin," says a White House official. "They just tore them apart."

The plan the President will make public preserves mostly those Energy Department suggestions that suit the Administration's step-on-the-gas philosophy. The most controversial by far will be a call for Congress to permit oil exploration in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, an ecologically sensitive

FUEL CONSUMPTION

The plan will make no mention of the two most effective measures to reduce gas consumption: higher taxes at the pump and a federally mandated increase in the fuel efficiency of new cars.

OIL EXPLORATION

The White House wants to open up 1.5 million acres of the 19 millionacre Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling, a prospect that enrages environmentalists. The plan may also call for an examination of potential offshore drilling sites.





area that has been closed to drilling since it was established in 1960. Environmental groups, fearing irreversible damage to the ecosystem, are promising to fight that proposal with an all-out campaign that could turn into this year's version of the bitter Robert Bork confirmation battle, "We'll fight to the end," says Sierra Club spokesman Marty Hayden. "There's no compromise on ANWR.

The White House plan is also expected to include proposals to streamline the licensing of natural-gas pipelines and nuclear plants. One idea is to decrease the number of public hearings required before a license is granted. In another boost to the nation's moribund nuclear-power industry-one that is sure to raise the hackles of antinuclear activists and state lawmakers-the plan proposes to cut states out of the approval process when selecting sites for storing nuclear waste.

At most, alternative-energy sources will be given only modest gestures of support, including extension of tax incentives for solar and geothermal-energy investments. The conservation measures that survived the White House triage are even more modest. Most likely to be included are tax breaks for builders of energy-efficient homes and office buildings and energy-efficiency labeling requirements for products.

Even many Administration officials concede that any serious effort to cut oil consumption would have to be built around an increased gas tax. But the President, a former Texas oilman, won't hear of it. The White House fears that higher gas prices could put downward pressure on an economy already in recession. Bush is also mindful of the potential cost to his popularity. He remembers all too vividly how his standing in the polls plunged during the federal budget fight last autumn, when he mishandled the budget deal that resulted in a nickel-a-gallon gas-tax increase.

Congressional Democrats are blaming Bush for a failure of leadership. "The President could call for a 10¢- or 15¢-per-gal. tax on gasoline, and the American people would back him all the way," says Michigan Democrat John Dingell, chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee. "He could call it a tax to support our war effort, and it would rally the nation."

ut given American resistance to new taxes. Democrats may simply be asking the President to walk the plank ahead of them. Republican pollster Robert Teeter has provided the White House with data showing that a gas tax is especially unpopular with so-called Reagan Democrats, the blue-collar swing voters whom Bush needs for re-election in 1992, "Cheap fuel is part of our standard of living," says oil expert Robert Bradley of the Cato Institute, a Washington-based think tank, "You can force Americans to drive small, unsafe cars, pay \$5 per gallon for gas, and force the poor to abandon their automobiles. But Americans don't want that."

Legislative strategy is another reason why conservation measures were neglected in the plan. The President's proposals are merely a first move in what is sure to be a lengthy tug-of-war with Congress. Sununu and Darman were concerned that the opening bid not be too generous. That's the mistake they feel Bush made in his initial version of last year's Clean Air Act. which gave Congress the chance to make the law significantly tougher and more expensive during a year of negotiations.

The counterbids are already appearing in Congress, where two dozen energy-related bills are circulating, including several that would require higher fuel-efficiency levels. One that was introduced in the Senate last week by Nevada Democrat Richard Bryan and Washington Republican Slade Gorton would oblige U.S. automakers to increase the current 27.5-m.p.g. average fuel-efficiency standard to 34 m.p.g. within five years and to 44 m.p.g. within a decade. Supporters are confident they have the votes to win. A similar measure was defeated in the Senate last

Predicting the final shape of an energy plan is tricky. Energy politics don't divide along party lines. When the time comes to vote, liberal Democrats from oil-patch states, like Oklahoma Congressman Mike Synar, tend to line up with the petroleum industry. Detroit Democrats like Congressman Dingell back away from fuel-efficiency standards that are opposed by hometown automakers. And defenders of the environment can still turn up on both sides of the aisle. On Aug. 4, two days after the invasion of Kuwait, the House voted 281 to 82 effectively to ban for one year any drilling for natural gas along North Carolina's Outer Banks, one of the nation's largest untapped energy reserves.

Any effective national energy plan must contain two strands: increased domestic energy production and more efficient consumption. The President is tugging at the production strand. Congress appears to be groping toward the other. The question is whether they can weave them together and give the country the leadership it urgently needs on this vital issue. - Reported by Jerome Cramer and Michael Duffy/Washington

Look for a controversial simplification of the process for licensing nuclear power plants. At present, one public hearing is required before a plant can be built, and another before it can begin operati The White House wants to eliminate the second hearing.



ALTERNATIVE SOURCES

Expect stingy support for the development of substitutes for coal, oil and nuclear power. One possibility: continuing tax incentives for solarand geothermal-energy investments-but only after a project actually produces energy, not, as now, in the start-up phase.





Time for Tough Choices

The White House presents a sober-minded budget that could shrink the deficit and end the annual bidding war

By MICHAEL DUFFY

Despite his omerines shiry demenor. Richard Darman, George Busis's Budget. White House as an accomplished comedian. After all, a knack for cutting up goes naturally with the job; last year when Bush saked for the impossible—a budget that lowered the deficit without raising taxes— Darman responded with a 15-page essay fite with references to Wonderland, Pasrie with references to Wonderland, Pascooked books that were expected of him, humor was Darman's best defense.

This year silly stratagems have been set aside. Darman's budget for 1992 is a more sober reflection of the nation's fiscal health than most budgets of the past decade. Its economic assumptions, with some excep-

tions, are unusually flinty eyed. Its priorities, if not always laudable, are clear. And for Bush and Darman, both of whom were wounded in last fall's budget fight, it is a smooth political recovery act that last week met with generally favorable reviews from both right and left.

The main reason for the new candor is last year's much maligned budget agreement, which sets firm caps on discretionary spending for the next five years and prevents meddling with all but the details of federal programs. The new rules render preposterous budgets unnecessary and encourage negotiators to make hard choices. When total spending levels are fixed, there is little point in inflating revenue estimates through rosy economic assumptions. Moreover, the caps will force both parties to make spending decisions carefully. Democrats who want to spend more on, say, housing must carve the money from another program. This programmatic triage alone should help shrink the deficit. As Bush said in his State of the Union speech, "Future spending debates will mean a battle of ideas, not a bidding war."

Happily, the new rules make a repeat of last year's bloody budget summit unlike-by. Both parties now largely agree that despite the gulf war, defense spending should continue to decline; that domestic spending should ornition to decline; that domestic spending should rose only with inflation; and that mandatory entitlement programs are still too sacrossact for deep reductions. All that's left to debate is how much should go to individual discretionary programs. Explained and discretionary programs. Explained and the still programs and the still programs and the still programs and the still programs and the still programs. The amount of money spent is set on what it comes down to is a question of priorities."

The most intriguing element in the budget is Darman's romance with means testing. By reducing federal handoust for middle- and upper-income Americans. Darman hopes to begin to weaut them from their expensions of the budget of

step toward "a better focus on the poor." In fact, the Administration's flirtation with means testing is as political as it is fiscal. Having badly mishandled the "fairness issue" last year, Bush is asking

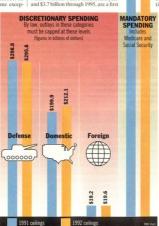
the rich to make some small sacrifices to defuse the issue as he nears re-election. Besides, the White House knows that many Democrats will reflexively balk at the idea of asking seniors (or parents of kids who get but don't need subsidized school lunches) to pay more. House budget chairman Leon Panetta, a California Democrat, seemed to stumble into this trap last week when he warned Darman that the elderly will "raise hell" if the Medicare proposals stand. In political terms, it doesn't really matter whether the means tests find their way into law; for Bush and Darman, the readiness to propose them is all that counts

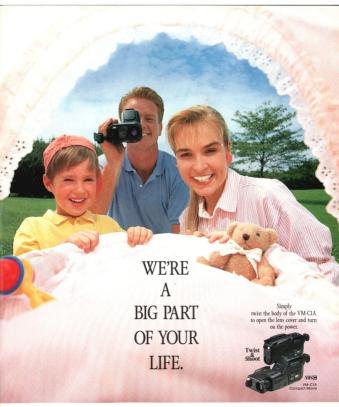
The budget is an attempt to mollify the restive right, whose members are still steamed about the way Bush orphaned his "no new taxes" pledge last year. Darman met nearly a dozen times in recent weeks with

House Republicans and included in the budget a number of items-enterprise zones, incentives for tenant ownership of public housing-that are dear to conservative hearts. But Administration officials admit privately that some of these. such as Bush's inevitable pitch for lower capital-gains taxes, are included simply to keep the right quiet. Said a senior Administration official: "We're trying to fool them as long as we can."

Both Republican and Democratic experts agree that the new budget rules should lead to a lower deficit in a few years. But they add that unexpected costs, like those from the gulf war and the thrift bailout, could again postpone that day indefinitely. Last week Bush told several thousand businessmen and -women in New York City that the deficit would be "virtually eliminated by 1995." The audience reaction was a mix of scattered applause and derisive laughter. As one of Bush's predecessors put it, you can't fool all of the people all the time. -With reporting by

Nancy Traver/Washington





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When ROLM sent John Axselle back to school, he asked questions that got a whole campus talking.



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Unshackling the Troubled Banks

A sweeping reform plan would give big lenders new competitive muscle but is sure to face a fierce fight in Congress

By JOHN GREENWALD

t was the most heartening news that America's troubled big banks have had in years. In a bid to strengthen the flagging industry. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady last week urged Congress to sweep away laws that have limited bank activities since the Great Depression. Under his proposed reforms, banking companies could easily expand across state lines and become financial supermarkets that offer everything from stocks and bonds to life insurance. Treasury said the plan would also seek to shield taxpayers from any replay of the savings and loan fiasco. "If we expect to exert world economic leadership in the 21st century. Brady said, "we must have a modern, world-class financial-services system in the U.S.'

Major banks had long sought a plan like this one to help extricate them from their current crisis. Many banks spent the 1980s chasing long-odds business, such as loans to Third World countries and commercial real estate developers, after their best corporate customers began to borrow more cheaply in money markets. With many of those new customers now in trouble, the banks face more bad debts than ever before. Meanwhile aggressive foreign lenders in Japan and elsewhere, which operate under fewer restrictions, swiftly outpaced their American rivals While nine U.S. banks were among the world's 30 largest in 1969, only Manhattan-based Citibank made Fund is dangerously low. the list in 1989. And it plunged from No. 3 (behind Bank of Amer-

ica and Chase Manhattan) to No. 27. Critics doubt the wisdom of unleashing U.S. banks to expand into new areas. "This is the same cart-before-the-horse mentality that plagued the deregulation of the savings and loan industry," charged Henry Gonzalez, a Texas Democrat who chairs the House banking committee. "Let's set the speed limits and train the policemen before we open a new superexpressway for financial institutions."

The most bitterly contested part of the Treasury plan would let banks enter new fields that may be unrelated to financial services. Strong banking companies would



Brady calls for a "world-class financial-services syste BLUEPRINT FOR RENEWAL

PROBLEM PROPOSAL

Profits are dwindling at many large U.S. banks, which are falling behind

foreign rivals in world

Deposit insurance has become too risky for the Federal Governm

The Bank Insurance

firms and another for all state-chartered firms. Replenish it with money from the banking industry through a yet-to-be-developed plan.

Expand services banks can

offer, Improve efficiency by

permitting branches nationwide.

Let strong nonfinancial firms,

such as industrial companies,

depositor per bank, Eliminate

deposits. Make weaker banks pay

coverage of big institutions'

higher insurance premiums.

Assign just one regulatory

nationally chartered banking

body to supervise all

Restrict coverage to two

accounts of \$100,000 a

own banks.

be permitted to affiliate with anyone from Merrill Lynch to McDonald's. So-called fire walls would prevent banks from risking federally insured deposits in the new ventures. The plan would also let banks create nationwide networks of branches within three years under a law that would replace the current crazy-quilt pattern of state

rules that govern interstate banking Brady was clearly mindful of the S&L mess when he put forth his proposals. To avoid taxpayers' having to bail out failed banks, the plan would limit depositors to a total of \$200,000 of federal insurance per bank. That would include \$100,000 in checking and savings accounts and \$100,000 in retirement accounts.

Bank customers who wanted to beat the \$200,000 ceiling would have to open accounts in several banks. That's just what the Treasury would like, since the rule would dissuade depositors from piling into

a struggling institution that was offering impossibly high interest rates in a desperate bid for customers-as often happened in Texas in the '80s. But the Treasury opened a wide loophole by failing to junk its too-big-to-fail doctrine. Under that policy, which is intended to prevent runs on deposits at large institutions, the government makes good on the entire account-no matter how sizablethat a major depositor holds in a large bank. That particularly worries small-town bankers, who fear customers may flee to larger rivals.

The Treasury remained silent

on the most pressing issue confronting banks: how to replenish the nearly broke Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation fund, which insures accounts. The beleaguered fund sank to a record low \$8.5 billion after 169 banks failed last year. Without fresh cash, it could go bust by the end of 1991 if the current recession lasts all year. The Treasury left the details of rescuing the fund up to the FDIC and the banking industry, FDIC Chairman William Seidman later said that to rescue the fund, the agency might raise banks' insurance premiums 20% to 30% as of June 30 to pay interest on government borrowings of up to \$15 billion.

Does the Treasury's reform program stand a chance in Congress? Experts say that limiting deposit-insurance coverage has the brightest prospects in the wake of the S&L bailout. Lawmakers may also look favorably on letting banks expand geographically. The odds are probably longest against permitting banks to diversify into

new businesses. Even if the program passed intact, it would hardly end the troubles of big banks overburdened with poor loans. "There is no magic solution that will fix the banks' problems," says Lawrence White, a New York University economist, "The banks made a whole lot of bad loans, and nothing is going to solve that over the short run. The long run is another matter. While the ambitious plan is certain to stir furious debate, the flexibility it promises just might yield a more profitable and competitive U.S. banking system in the next century. - Reported by Gisela Bolte/Washington

"It's A Slap of Reality"

As draconian funding cuts kick in, mass layoffs shake California's legislature and reduce Willie Brown to tears

■ n the day that more than 600 legislative staffers lost their jobs, Speaker Willie Brown seaceded the rostrum of the ornate, walnut-and-velvet California state assembly chamber and, with a trembling of his smartly tailored shoulders, broke down and wept. Veteran assemblymen who have known him for Z5 years as a tough-minded political chiefain were amazed. "It's a

tragedy that we have to let these people go," Brown sobbed. "This place will not be the same."

California's voters set the cuts in motion last November by narrowly passing Proposition 140, a ballot initiative that hit legislators with a double whammy: it not only decreed maximum terms of six vears for assemblymen and eight for senators, but more immediately ordered a cut of nearly 40% in the \$190 million legislative operating budget. Last week, as a wave of mass layoffs was announced, the senate shed 200 of its nearly 1,000 employees, and the assembly dropped 440 of its staff of 1,500. Gone, along with clerks and secretaries, were some 300 policy experts; 15 subcommittees were disbanded.

Speaker Brown, who had led a \$5 million campaign against the ballot initiative, was forced to apply the lion's share of the cutbacks. "It's a crippling blow." moaned Brown. Without the experts, for example, legislators were not responding promptly to the budget recently proposed by the new Governor, Republican Pete Wilson. "We don't have the analytical ability," said Brown. "We don't have the talent back

there able to do the job."

Brown's Democrats, who control both houses, predict other dire consequences: a

"It's a crippling blow," moaned Speaker Brown comforts a victim of Proposition 140

brain drain that is bound to deter the best and brightest from working in the statehouse, and a weakening of the legislature as it confronts some of its own ex-staffers now in the ranks of special-interest lobbies. One surviving expert, respected Democratic economist Steven Thompson, 49, predicts that when the term limits start taking effect in 1996, the legislative branch could even suffer constitutionally. Reason: the inexperience of rotating members will prevent it from holding up its end of the checks-and-balances system. So vehement was the protest among the majority of political regulars that last month the rules committees of both houses voted to chal-

lenge Proposition 140 with a luswait.

But not everybody was unhappy
with the cuts. Their most gratified
supporter was the author of Proposition 140, Pete Schabarum, 62, a:
crusty member of the Los Apparisons and
former state assemblymam who is
now campaigning to extend the
term-limit stricture to the state's
Senators and 45 Congressmen and
to elected bodies in all 58 counties.

A tiny minority-six Republicans out of a total of 120 legislators-also supports Proposition 140. Conservative Tom McClintock, 34, sees the budget cuts as a chance to unload "political hacks who have been parked on the legislators' payrolls," Says Robert Forsythe, 50, a surviving senate aide: "Let's face it-the cuts have come as a special shock because this place has felt itself to be encased in glass and somehow protected from the layoffs and cutbacks so many people have been feeling around the country. It's a slap of reality."

Scandal in Phoenix

Seven Arizona lawmakers are indicted in a bribery scam

A rizona has an image problem. Almost hrree years ago, Governor Evan Mecham was impeached for missing state funds. Last November voters turned down a referendum to make Martin Luther King Day a paid state holiday, touching off boyotts that may deprive Arizona of the 1935 Super Bowl. Last week a major political scandal rocked the state as a grand jury changed seen legislators, five floolysis changed seen legislators, five holbysis companies astalentic money laundering and filing false campaign statements.

The product of a 16-month, \$1.4 million investigation by the Phoenix police

and the Maricopa County attorney's office, the indictment charged the accused with accepting \$370,000 from an undercover agent poxing as a Law Yegas "gaming consultant" building support for casino gambling. Police say the sting began as an investigation of an illegal gambling network that had attracted the interest of organized crime. "We didn't know at the time how carth shattering it would be," said Phoenix Police Chief Ruben Ortega, "until the evidence began to grow."

Arizona thus became the fifth state in recent months to be tained by a legislative corruption scandal. In South Carolina, 10 legislators have been indicted in a vote-selling scheme. In California two former state senators were convicted on corruption charges last year, Gib Lewis, speaker of the Texas House, has been accused of soliciting and not reporting a gift. In New York, Assembly Speaker Mel Miller has pleaded innocent to charges that he wasin-volved in an alleged real estate scan.

At the center of Arizona's sting opera-

tion—quickly dubbed Aszcam—was a flamboyant Las Vegan who called himsel J. Anthony Vincent. According to the indictment, Vincent assuaged the legislators' fears about hidden cameras and once raportedly striped in front of a lobbyist to show he wasn't concealing a microphone. In fact, Vincent was an undercover agent named Joseph C. Stedino. Ortega says that 95% of the evidence comes from audioand videotapes. In one police videotape, factor of the control of the contro

Some of the accused have charged the police with grandstanding and entrapment. Says Sue Laybe, a legislator who has been charged with taking \$24.960 in bribes: "Neither I nor any of my co-defendants what any intention or predisposition to take illegal contributions. It is shocking that hundreds of thousands of dollars of city money would be spent trying to entrap honest notificians." Shocking indeed.

American Notes



MICHIGAN

The Return of Dr. Death

Jack Kevorkian-a.k.a. Dr. Death-may be back in business. Kevorkian, 62, a retired Michigan pathologist, gained national notoriety last year when he used his home-built suicide machine to help Alzheimer's patient Janet Adkins kill herself. Last week, two days after Oakland County Circuit Judge Alice Gilbert issued a court injunction barring Kevorkian from using the suicide machine, he announced that he had counseled a dentist with cancer who was (and likely still is) contemplating using a similar machine of his own. Said Kevorkian: "I'm just testing the limits of the injunction

Kevorkian vowed that he would use his machine again "under the correct circumstances." If he does, there may be little his opponents can do about it: murder charges brought against him for Mrs. Adkins' suicide were dismissed last December in part because Michigan has no law against physician-assisted suicide.

most controversial idea yet. Thompson wants to cap funds for unmarried mothers at \$440 a month, the current limit for a single woman with one child. Benefits would not increase if the woman has additional children-unless she gets married. "It sounds like a state-

sponsored shotgun wedding," one critic said, "The state has no business dictating who should get married or how many children they should have," said Margaret McMurray, a spokeswoman for the National Organization for Wom-

Just Dving For a Fix

What seemed like ordinary bags of heroin hit the bazaars of the South Bronx early this month. Dubbed "Tango & Cash," the product sold for \$10 a bag. By the end of last week, the drug had killed six people in New York, seven in New Jersey and two in Connecticut; 213 overdosed addicts wound up in emergency rooms. Preliminary tests indicate that the drug is fentanyl, a tranquilizer described as "150 to 6,000 times more potent than morphine.'

Police took extraordinary steps to warn addicts, cruising blighted neighborhoods in squad cars. "If you have used this drug," they announced over their loudspeakers, "seek medical attention immediately!" Ironically, these efforts

may have led addicts to crave it all the more. "Hard-core users ask how they could get hold of it. They figure those who died made a mistake," says Christopher Policano, a spokesman at Phoenix House, a drug rehabilitation center



Ultimate high: 15 dead



FLORIDA

Killing Her Way to Fame

She has called herself Lori, Sandra and Cammie, But the world knows Aileen Carol Wuornos as the "I-75 killer," the female hitchhiker who allegedly murdered seven men in Florida between December 1989 and November 1990, Now, thanks to an enterprising movie producer, Wuornos' life story may be the next movie-of-the-

Wuornos, 34, is a drifter who lists her occupation as "professional call girl." According to police. Wuornos has admitted killing the seven men; one she shot six times, including a coup de grace in the head "to put him out of his misery." The police arrested her Jan. 9, but even before she was charged. Wuornos had signed a movie deal with California producer Jackelyn Giroux. "She's delightful," says Giroux. "Basically, from age three, she had been abused by everyone in her life. If one child can be saved by having another child's story told, it's worth it."

tal and Family Responsibility Initiative, a scheme linking welfare benefits to marriage ESPIONAGE

WISCONSIN

Shotgun

Weddings?

Wisconsin Governor Tommy G. Thompson is no stranger to

the carrot-and-stick approach

to welfare: one state program

withholds benefits from fam-

ilies whose kids cut class, another docks benefits from some

recipients who don't work or

get job training. But his Paren-

and birth control, may be his

Oversexed and Underpaid

It took almost seven years and three trials, but in Los Angeles last week, Richard Miller, 54, was sentenced to 20 years in en. "This is Big Brotherism." prison, thus becoming the only FBI agent ever convicted of spy-

with a Soviet agent and giving

But this is a thriller that owes more to Peter Sellers than to John le Carré. In 1984, when the bumbling 250-lb. Miller was arrested after having an affair

her a handbook on U.S. counterintelligence techniques, the FBI was shocked. It shouldn't have been. On a \$50,000 salary, Miller was attempting to support a wife, eight children, a Los Angeles bungalow and a San Diego County farm.

with a hung jury, and the second was reversed. In the third, Judge Robert Takasugi convicted Miller of espionage. "Mr. Miller was totally out of control," said Takasugi. "I wonder why the agency allowed him to serve when it knew of his sus-Miller's first trial ended ceptible qualities."

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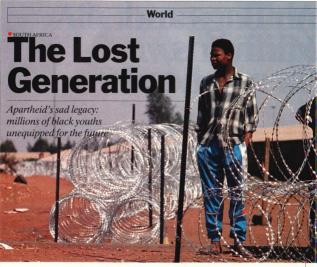
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drive and more V-6 power.

Dodge Caravan and Plymouth Voyager. The original. And still the leader Beware of imitations







By SCOTT MACLEOD JOHANNESBURG

e says to call him "Che Guevara." He lives in Zola, one of the ghetto districts that make up the vast black township of Soweto, outside Johannesburg. At 22 he is a hardened veteran of the struggle against apartheid. He has killed "enemies of the people" and is prepared to kill again.

Seven years ago he became a supporter of the then outlawed African National Congress. With other teenagers he starred stoning police vehicles. When leaders of the fiberation movement sought to make one of the efforces. If he caught a family paying tent to municipal authorities in define of the rent boyecut, he would serve them with an eviction notice. "If they caught a family make the principal control of the strong do go," he says, "we'd spack to them in the language of the struggle. We'd kill them and burn their house down."

There are millions of young men, some like Che, in South Africa, a country's lost generation. Nelson Mandela hailed black youth as the "Young Lions," who took over as the shock troops of the revolution while he and other aging black leaders were locked away in prison. The "comrades," as they called themselves, battled the stack security forces for control of the townships, rooted out informers and sellouts, and spearheaded out informers and sellouts, and spearheaded was their milliancy and surging growth, as much as anything less, that finally cominced the white government in Pretoria that apartheld's days were numbered.

Freedom has come for Mandela, and it may be nearing for all blacks who long to rule in their own land. But the youth are emerging as aparthed's saddest and potentially most dangerous legacy: as many as 5 million young people, from their early 3th down to perhaps 10, mostly school dropouts who are unable to gel jobs and unprepared to make constructive contributions to society. They are the deprived, archives, layer to make young the properties of the properti

They are often murderous supporters of rival groups like the A.N.C., the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. What unites them is lives that have known little besides political conflict. When the day of liberation comes, what will they do?

They have learned all too well how to imitate the violence of a state that has often used live ammunition on defenseless protesters and fired tear gas to disperse groups of small children. They have lived in a world, says the Rev. Frank Chikane, head of the South African Council of injustrated, or conditions, and the south african Council of injustrated, or conditions, and body searches, where triends and parents get carried away in the middle of the night.

The fiery images of death have become part of their normal experience. Many of them, in the words of *Dnum* magazine editor Barney Cohen, are capable of killing at the drop of a match. They have developed a youth culture of alienation and intolerance that may be more destructive, in its sheer scale, than anything seen in Beirut, Belfast or the Gaza Strin.



Apartheid, by robbing black community and family life of all authority and cohesion, is to blame. But so, to some extent, is the type of fight that blacks chose to wage against white oppression. For years parents have been standing back while their

children moved to the front trenches of the

freedom struggle. The youth rebellion began on June 16, 1976, when the schoolchildren of Soweto, seething over the inferior instruction known as Bantu education, rose up in protest against the state's edict that their lessons must be learned in Afrikaans, the language of the ruling whites. The initial battles left more than 400 dead, but the uprising was never completely quelled. In 1984 the comrades of the still simmering townships rebelled again, setting off a series of violent protests that killed more than 2,000 over the next two years and prompted the government to impose a state of emergency. The turmoil presented Pretoria with grave political problems, including the imposition of stronger international sanctions, which President by to armed robbery.



The antagonists: a Zulu youth, left, stands behind police razor wire isolating his dormitory in Soweto. Xhosa fighters, above, form defensive ranks after a Zulu attack in Tokoza.

F.W. de Klerk is still trying to solve. But the endless conflict also helped transform black children. As the youth population mushroomed, so did its power to do violence. Now there are 28.5 million blacks in the country, half of them under the age of 14, many of them with no notion of how to live in a peaceful world. Black parents are frustrated at their inability to get their children to return to school. "Liberation now; education later" became the slogan of the 1980s, but it only promises to make the 1990s that much harder.

Spending its days in the streets, the lost generation alarms many black community leaders as much as it does white government officials. Perhaps half the urban youth eschew political activism, preferring to loaf, play soccer, drink beer and shoot dice. Thousands upon thousands of others are tough political activists. They seem to roam the townships like so many deputy sheriffs, setting down the law of the street and enforcing it with harsh punishment.

Although the practice has died down recently, teenage judges presided over so-

called people's courts that almost casually handed out death sentences to suspected traitors. A youth invention that has not disappeared is "necklacing," the method of mob execution in which a gasoline-doused rubber tire is thrown around a suspected traitor's body and set ablaze.

"Chris," 26, has no interest in working and little time for politics. He is too busy stealing. He started with cars, moved on to breaking into houses in the affluent white suburbs and eventual-

He claims that he would never kill for money. But he admits that he has killed out of revenge. After burying a friend who had been murdered, he and a gang of comrades armed with pangas went after the youth they suspected of the killing. "We chopped " Chris says. "His head was over him up. here. His hands were over there.

Black crime is soaring. Poverty has removed the stigma from stealing, and young people are no longer afraid of the police. Blacks have invented a name for the new youthful criminals: they are the comtsotsis, gangsters masquerading as political activists. In Soweto, which has 3 million residents, an epidemic of car thefts and armed holdups has left many people cowering in their homes after sunset. The township ranks among the murder capitals of the world: in 1989 Soweto reported 1,383 killings, compared with 1,900 in New York City and 434 in Washington.

Gangs conduct classes for young boys in the fine arts of car theft and burglary. They use Soviet-made AK-47 assault rifles to carry out bank robberies and payroll

heists. Much of the crime is vicious. A bunch of street toughs recently murdered an elderly New Zealand tourist and stole his wristwatch after he made a wrong turn and wound up in Soweto after dark. "This is because black people are suffering," a black burglar told a white Johannesburg man

as he robbed his house and raped a woman friend. The most worrisome trend is the readiness of young rival activists to kill each other. In the province of Natal alone, more than

4,000 people have died



On guard at a squatter camp



The morning after a battle with the Zulus: two young survivors huddle outside what remains of their house in Tokoza.

since clashes crupted in 1986 between fol-clowers of the A.N.c. and the Zulu-based In-katha movement, headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelez! Instead of inspiring a new era of peace, Mandela's return has seen the fighting spread to Soweto and other townships encircling Johannesburg. In 1990 encircling Johannesburg. In 1990 encircling Johannesburg in John State of the Mandela State of the

Prince, 34, steered clear of politics to take advantage of economic opportunities opening up for blacks. He became a bank teller—until his world collapsed in 1983 when the bank was robbed by a group of his friends and police accused him of being the inside man.

After serving four years in prison, Prince is trying to build a future for his family. But he is filled with resentment when he sees the stark contrasts between black Alexandra township and the nearby white suburb of Sandton. "Even if you are blindfolded, you know you are in Alex by the smell," he says. "But get in your car, and in five minutes—look at the mansions, smell the flowers, see the BMWs and the overflowing grocery trolleys in the supermarkets. It can make you cry."

The dormant A.N.C. Youth League is being revived to bring the comrades under the movement's umbrella. The league's slogan—Fight! Produce! Leart1—echoes the mixed signals that A.N.C. leaders are sending to the youth. Mandela has been urging them to go back to school, but the A.N.C. still employs young students in boycotts that keep them in the streets.

Worse, the mass-action campaign includes attacks on black municipal councilors and black policemen—part of apartheid's

crumbling system—that encourage the perpetuation of black-against-black violence. In 1990 there were more than 400 recorded attacks on black councilors and policemen, resulting in at least 25 deaths. How will the young react when black politicians and police are representing a black government?

These militant strategies may keep youths motivated for the cause, but they do little to prepare them for a painful reality ahead. The "new South Africa," as Mandela and De Klerk both like to call it, may in many ways be as bad or worse than the old.

lacks will have the vote and a fight to equal opportunity. The new political system will presumiddle class of entrepreneurs, lawyers and other professionals that has spring up under apartheid will grow. There is a reasonable chance for racial harmony, since even the most militant blacks accept the right of whites to be fellow South African.

But the huge economic disparities between whites and blacks will continue for years. A majority of South Africa's blacks are desperately poor at least? million live in destitute squatter camps. They will see they demand the supplement, as high as 44% in more areas, is unlikely to fall quickly. The owner areas, the supplement, as high as 44% in owner areas, the supplement of the supplement of the supplement of the supplement of the supplement Kane-Berman, head of the Johannesburgbased South African Institute of Race Relations. "There is every possibility that the warrage person will be materially worse of

than he is now."

Such a future would be a profound shock to the lost generation. The comrades seem to take it for granted that they have

joyed by whites. They assume that once the A.N.C. controls the government, the benefits will start flowing to blacks.

But blacks lack the education and skills needed to expand the economy significantly in the short term. "There is absolutely no way that those expectations will be met," says Kehla Shubane, 32, a researcher at the University of Witwatersrand. Under optimal conditions, it could take South Africa between five and 10 years to begin making tangible progress. If adopted, the A.K.C.'s oscialist-oriented economic proposals—popular with the lost generation—would only postroon material improvement.

Because the black leadership is a fraid to alienate them, the resuless youth may exert a baleful influence over the negotiations for South Africa's future political and economic system. "The youth support us because we speak their language—housing, education, jobs," says Jackie Selebi, and member of the An.C's hational executive committee. "As soon as we stop demanding that, we will run into trouble."

This is exactly the kind of talk that makes whites insist on some kind of veto power under a new system. The existence of so many uneducated and unemployed blacks, says government negotiator Stoffel van der Merwe, "makes it more important to have a constitution in which the power of the majority is very definitely subject to checks and balances."

One way or another, the next generation of blacks can expect to win control of their lives. That will be a great day in South Africa. But no new political system—at least in the near future—will be able to fulfill the hopes of the generation that has already been lost. —With reporting by Peter Hawthorne/ Cape Town

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SOVIET UNION

The Empire Strikes Back

On the ropes for months, the Communist Party rebounds with a fighting message: Save Marxism and the Union at any cost

By JAMES WALSH

ikita Khrushchev once scoffed that his country would ditch communism when "a shrimp learns to whistle." Much of the world thought it heard that unlikely music last March when Soviet legislators amended the constitution to abolish the Communist Party's guaranteed monopoly

on political power. Four months lader, establishment baiter Boris Yeltsin shocked a party congress by staging a dramatic walkout, leading an exokus of some 2 million disaffected members. But Khrusshev's mirade may not have been quite enough. By last week, it had become clear that die-hard disciples of Marx and Lenin were determined to regain the national whip hand, come what may.

If any doubt remained that orthodoxy was fighting back, it was dispelled by the views aired at an angry Jan. 31 party plenum. Speeches by Central Committee members roundly knocked perestroika as a policy gone astray, attacked freedom of the press and condemned the Kremlin leadership's abandonment of Marxist principles in favor of "bourgeois morality." These Communists made it plain they were not about to give way to a multiparty system. The entire tone of the gathering suggested a council of war, and there were no recorded disagreements by Mikhail Gorbachev. A few days later, the Soviet President took to the airwaves to deliver a surprise national ad-

dress. Visibly distraught, with his lips trembling at times, Gorbachev pleaded for a show of unity in the face of separatist movements and political dissension. "The Soviet Union is a superpower," he said. "Huge efforts were expended to make it so powerful, and we could lose it very quickly."

The televised appeal had a particular aim: get voters to endorse the Kremlin's new Union Treaty binding the 15 Swiet republics Legibler, Four republics—Lith-uania, Estonia, Georgia and Armenia—have vowed not to take part in the scheduled March 17 referendum, while Latvia was leaning toward boycotting it. But Gorbachev's message also carried the kind of rally-round-the-flag overtones

sounded by resurgent Communist hardliners. Should he fail to re-create the Union with popular consent, he will be pressed by the reactionaries to resort to force—or move aside.

Preservation of the empire has given the party a potent appeal. One notable scold on the scene last week was Marshal Sergei Akhromeyey, Gorbachev's chief

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO POLOZKOV

Unreconstructed Marxists like Russian Communist Party leader Ivan Polozkov are rising in influence. He told the plenum:

- It is clear that perestroika reforms
- have failed.
- We have no multiparty system to speak of.
- We also do not have glasnost.
 The party did not realize it was going astray from its historical destiny.

military adviser, who blasted fast-track reformers for aligning themselves with antisocialist and separatist forces. His socialist and separatist forces. His theme—"will be lose our homeland?" recalled Joseph Stalin's "Great Patriotic War" strategy of wrapping communism in the banner of saving the motherland from Nazi Germany. Aktromeye wondered if the Soviet to Union would now be "dismenbered into pieces" subject to the "humilibered into pieces" subject to the "humilibered into pieces" subject to the "humili-

ation" of "dependence on Western governments,"

After Gorbachev's accession to power, doctrinaire communism went into a six-year tailspin. But the turmoil of recent months has given the cause fresh life. Many of the party's new vanguard deny they want to turn back the clock, and yet

the Kremlin has begun targeting for investigation prominent private businessman Artyom Tarasov, a self-made Moscow

Market economies and the profit move, linchpins of persentuola, remain deeply suspect. A U.S. State Department official recalled a wist to America last year by Ye-gor Ligachev, the Kremlin's former chief sideologist. While touring a grocery store, the apostle of Marxism could not believe that the manager himself set prices. "They think, that kind of price extering is corrupted to the control of the control o

In the plenum, Ivan Polozkov, the Russian party leader, inveighed against efforts to "establish the dictatorship of private capital" and called for a return to the class

struggle.

Such recrudescence of thought stems in part from the large-scale defections from the party by liberals like Yeltsin and Leningrad Mayor Anatoli Sobchak. Many other leading reformers have quit, leaving behind a 17 million-strong hardcore party that controls vast amounts of property as well as the loyalties of factory apparatchiks and military officers. It now seems bent on aborting multiparty democracy and decentralized economic management. Says Robert Legvold, a Columbia University Kremlin watcher: "They don't feel they're on the run any longer."

The biggest target—and the emotional underpinning to the party's resurgence—remains Soviet secession movements. Although Lithuanians voted last weekend heavily in favor of independence, Gorbachev proclaimed the plebiscite invalid in advance. In turn. Sobehak said

Gorbachev's March 17 referendum should be seen as a vote of confidence in the President. If the referendum fails to pass, the Leningrad mayor suggested, Gorbachev "would be obliged to step down."

Some Communists already seem prepared for that eventuality. In a loose alliance with Russian nationalists, they agree with people like Alexander Prokhanov, an ideologue of chauvinism, that the nation ments, and the parliaments themselves are tired. "Prokhanov say. Corbachev will be hinself plugged, or the party will tupping. Gorbachev." — Reported by James Campy. Moscow and J.E. Modilister/Wassiane.

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World Notes



BRITAIN

A Stab at The Heart

Prime Minister John Major had just convened a morning meeting of his gulf war cabinet at 10 Downing Street, when the room was rocked by an explosion that shattered the windows and sent some of the ministers scrambling under the table. Said Major with admirable sangfroid: "We had better begin again somewhere else."

Despite initial fears, the attackers turned out to be not Iragi-sponsored terrorists but an older British adversary: the Irish Republican Army. The would-be assassins had parked a van 200 vds, from the Prime

Minister's offices, then used a delayed-timing device to launch three mortar shells from the vehicle while they escaped. One landed in a garden at the back of Major's official residence: two more fell behind the Foreign Office. A total of three people were injured.

In a statement, the I.R.A. said the planning for the operation "predates both John Major's coming to power and the beginning of British involvement in the gulf war." It was the most brazen assault on top British officials since 1984, when the I.R.A. set off a bomb at a Conservative Party conference in Brighton that killed five people and narrowly missed then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

won a decisive vote to give the Communists a more moderate identity as the Democratic Party of the Left. Then came the pratfall: the newly named Democrats narrowly failed to reelect him as party secretary

Reformers deserted Occhetto when he refused to amend the leftists' hard-line demand that Italy pull its small contingent of naval and air forces out of the gulf war. Although humiliated, Occhetto won his job back late last week with a decisive 69% of the votes. But the incident illustrated how difficult it is proving to remake Western Europe's largest Marxist party. Cracked a rival political leader: "In 1976 the party finally accepted NATO. Today it's against the United

SOVIET UNION

Risking Radiation

Soviet enterprise has taken a macabre turn: vacation trips to the radioactive ruins of Chernobyl. Kievturist, a Ukrainian tour operator, is organizing excursions to the forbidden zone surrounding the entombed remains of the world's worst nuclear accident. Truly adventurous visitors can tour the massive concrete mound where the wreckage of the reactor is buried, a town built for the workers who cleaned up after the accident and a nuclearwaste dump.

"We want to show people what can happen if they are not careful about the ecology," says Gennadi Blinov, Kievturist's director general. The \$4-a-day price tag includes optional radiation scans for tourists who are worried. Income from the tours will be used to help victims of the April 1986 disaster.

Soviet scientists are conducting tests to be sure visitors

will not suffer any ill effects. Thousands of residents are still being moved out of contaminated zones nearby. The tours will begin in about a month, after the area has been declared safe for travel. But some former residents are apparently not waiting for the government's verdict. Tired of their cramped existence as refugees in Kiev, farm folk have been seen trickling back to reclaim their homesteads, despite the risk of radiation.



Chernobyl: glowing in the dark

CHINA

That Was Then. This Is Mao

Is China ready for the second coming of Mao Zedong? After the death of the Great Helmsman in 1976, his reform-minded successors wasted no time discrediting his ideas. But while Maoism remains out of style, the Chairman himself is more popular today than at any time in the past decade. Once tossed aside as shameful relics of the hated Cultural Revolution. Mao buttons and portraits are selling fast in some Chinese shops and stalls. Last year 900,000 people visited his birthplace in Hunan province, a record since the late 1970s. And a forthcoming film stresses his human qualities, portraying him as an unassuming leader who loved ballroom dancing.

For many modern Chinese who fret about political malaise and economic stagnation, Mao symbolizes the promise of the '50s, when the leadership appeared to be incorruptible and struggle-political and otherwise-seemed to have a purpose. The new Mao cult has even imbued the Chairman with talismanic powers. In

Guangdong province, truck drivers and shop owners display Mao posters, believing the image will ward off ill fortune and bring profits to their businesses-an ironic twist for an anticapitalist who imposed radical egalitarianism on



ITALY

New Name. Same Game

Italian Communist Party leader Achille Occhetto barely had time to savor his triumph. At a party congress in Rimini, he



Talismanic power: the Chairman on a truck

No Rain, No Gain

And much pain, as California's drought threatens a way of life

By JEANNE MC DOWELL

In the 40 years he has farmed the fertile soil of California's San Joaquin Valley, Fred Starrh has known his share of hardship. But never has he had a year like this, Rainfall and snowfall 75% below normal have left the state parched, and Starrh is struggling to save his 8,000-acre spread. He has let all 40 of his permanent employees go. He won't plant cotton this spring-it needs lots of water. His alfalfa. another thirsty crop, will come in at on sixth of last year's harvest. He is desperately scrounging for water to sustain his al-

mond trees. Still he retains faith. "It's like being told you're going to die,' says Starrh, 61. "Until it happens, you think you just might make it

Such sentiments are increasingly common in California. From the rich farmlands that yield half the nation's fruits and vegetables to the usually snow-drenched Sierra Nevadas to the lush gardens of Bel Air, Californians are grappling with the state's worst-ever drought, now entering its fifth year. Farmers, who contribute \$17.6 billion to California's \$735 billion-a-year economy, last week absorbed a double blow. The state Department of Water Resources, which normally supplies water to major farming areas in the fecund San Joaquin Valley, suspended all agricultural deliveries of the water it controls. Meanwhile the Federal Government warned of up to 75%



cutbacks in the low-priced water from its | reservoirs over the next few weeks. City governments convened emergency sessions to consider strict rationing for business and residential users. In the first unforeseen crisis of his new administration, Governor Pete Wilson stopped just short of declaring a state of emergency, instead creating a "drought action team" to draft a water plan in two weeks, "Concern is justified. Panic is not," cautioned Wilson. "This is a threat to our livelihoods, not our lives?

The distinction provided little solace to farmers, who consume 85% of the state's

water and are likely to take the biggest economic hit from the drought. With spring planting only weeks away, agricultural analysts predict a grim harvest; as many as 1.5 million acres left unfarmed, \$642 million in net losses and lavoffs of thousands of farm workers. "This is the worst drought most of us can remember," says Bob Vice, president of the 85,000-member California Farm Bureau Federation. "You can't raise crops unless you have tools, and water is the most important tool.

In California's semiarid desert climate.

no one expects much moisture from May to October, but the months of December through March are generally rainy, with January the wettest. Not this season. From Oct. 1 through the beginning of February, only 5 in. of rain fell vs. an average of 28 in, for that period. Reservoirs are half full at best; some are empty. At Edwards Air Force Base, near Lancaster, pumping for groundwater has opened a half-milelong, 12-ft.-deep, 4-ft.-wide crack close to a runway used by the space shuttles. Enough trees have died in the past two years, says the state Forestry Department, to build 1 million large threebedroom houses. "I don't want to sound too severe," says a spokesman, "but there are certainly more dead trees than there ever have been in modern times."

The impact of the drought and cutbacks in normally vast supplies of government-provided water will vary through the state's agriculture indus-



Drop that hose! An Angeleno caught watering a hedge In parts of the Golden State, gardening can be a crime



the Los Padres National Forest

try. Field crops that consume large amounts of water, such as alfalfa and cotton-the state's No. 1 export-are sure to suffer. "We may be looking at a million-bale loss, says Kevin McDermott, vice president for economic research at Calcot, a Bakersfield cotton cooperative. That would equal 30% of the normal harvest. Most imperiled will be the 2.1 million acres of permanent crops, the grapevines and fruit, olive and nut trees that must be watered to survive, even if they don't yield a harvest. While tomato and carrot growers may be able to sustain the economic loss of not planting this year, the \$3,000-per-acre capital investment required to plant trees and vines means that many farmers trapped in low-water areas are facing disaster or something close to it.

They can do little in response. Some are drilling wells to tap water deep beneath the surface, but others live in areas without significant groundwater. Still others are switching to crops that get by on less water-planting safflower instead of corn, for example. Many search desperately for outside sources and are willing to pay top dollar. Near Bakersfield in Kern County, farm manager Ronald Khachigian has contracted to purchase water from a private industrial source for almost double the price he usually pays. "It's better than not harvesting anything," he says. His normal price is just \$90 for each acre-foot (an acre-foot is 326,000 gallons and equals the annual consumption for two households).

The effects of California's drought will spread across the U.S. this spring and summer when shoppers may well pay higher

prices for some fruits and vegetables. By far the country's largest agricultural producer, California grows more than 90% of America's broccoli, apricots, grapes, nectarines, prunes and almonds, more than 80% of its lemons and plums, most of its peaches, lettuce and strawberries.

In urban areas, rationing, cutbacks and conservation are spreading fast. The Los Angeles city council is expected to approve shortly a plan requiring residential users and businesses to reduce consumption 10% from 1986 levels or pay stiff penalties. In San Diego, where conservation is voluntary, the city has set up a telephone hot line to provide conservation tips and a snitch line for reporting water-wasting neighbors. All new construction in outlying areas must include low-flow toilets. Tough restrictions on landscaping, which would limit the planting of grass, are under consideration. In a two-prong strategy, San Francisco has set 25% mandatory cutbacks in water use and is purchasing water from neighboring Placer and Stanislaus counties. In Marin County last week officials passed the most stringent cutbacks yet: 50%. They are also studying plans to increase the water supply 14% by building a \$60 million desalination plant that would transform murky water from San Francisco Bay into an extra 5,000 acre-ft, a year.

Frightened by prospects of further rationing, industrial companies that consume large amounts of water are seeking ways to use less. Keleo, a San Diego-based chemical producer, aims to cut water consumption 40% over the next three years by recycling more of what it needs to process he seaweed it uses as are aw material. Semiter, so Silicon Valley's Intel, a leading makri, a slao looking into recycling methods.

or California's nonfarm economy, the drought's long-term effects will probably be more important than the immediate ones. "We will survive the drought," says Gary Burke, president of the Santa Clara County Marcharting Group, "But what effect will the drought have on companies' plans to extra drought have on companies' plans to great in Satta Clara," cases of ecisions to focus in Satta Clara,"

He has a point. While emergency actions by indistry and government may ease the crisis, California will have to adopt a theeter system for allocating water to attract skittish hostnesses and stabilize its agriculturation. An object section by policial to the control of the co

Some of the distressed farmers are suffering because they have planted thirsty crops—rice, cotton, alfalfa—that would not be economical to grow in the first place if water cost more. Farmers also typically use the most wasteful method of irrigation: ditches. The drip method, which supplies water in needed quantities to each plant, uses about 20% less water than ditches, but as long as water is cheap, farmers have no reason to spend the money to install drip systems. Says Richard Howitt, professors. Galffornia at Davis: "We should be treating water like a market commodity that fluctuates in value."

As the Golden State turns brown, residents wonder how long the drought will last. No one can tell them. Some meteorol-



ogists ask whether the state is undergoing a permanent climatic change, but most point out that multiyear droughts have occurred often over the centuries. The 1928-34 drought lasted even longer than this one. Astrologers, not always disdained in California, say that with Saturn moving toward Aquarius, the skies will begin to open. Drenching rains lashed Northern California last week but probably sank straight into cracked ground rather than running into rivers and lakes. Relief almost certainly will not come soon. Even if the rainy season were average, it would not return many reservoirs to normal levels. In any case, an average season would require 40 in. of rain between now and May, which is almost unheard of. And then another dry season begins. - With reporting by Paul Krueger/San Diego and Elizabeth L'Hommedieu/San Francisco

An exuberant stock market has all but declared America's recession over. The public isn't persuaded.

By S.C. GWYNNE WASHINGTON

f the economic news is really so bad, why is Wall Street so giddy? The grim tidings of late January and early February were enough to depress anyone: 232,000 more Americans lost jobs, housing starts sank to their lowest level since 1982, consumer confidence plunged to a 10-year low, the bankinsurance fund was proclaimed nearly broke and a costly war threatened to deepen a record federal deficit. Yet through it all, U.S. share prices marched merrily upward, rising 6% so far this year.

The explanation is that investors aren't looking at the present. They're focused on the future-and they like what they see. Conventional wisdom on Wall Street holds that the market anticipates the effects of economic changes six months ahead, suggesting that the market bottom of Oct. 11 foreshadows a recovery beginning around April. Whatever the timing, investors clearly expect a remarkably short, shallow recession. They're not infallible, but collectively they seem to embody wisdom they may individually lack. Says James Grant, editor of Grant's Interest Rate Observer: "The question of the hour is whether the market is right. One always stands humbly before the market.'

An important reason for investor optimism is the Federal Reserve Bank's vigorous efforts to reverse this recession. In December the central bank cut the interest rate it charges member banks and reduced some of the reserves it requires them to keep, freeing around \$13 billion of lendable funds. It re-

duced its interest rates again by an unusually large 0.5% in February and pumped further billions into the economy by buying securities on the open market, causing the prime rate and mortgage rates to drop. With the central bank so powerfully stimulating the economy, betting on a downturn

seemed foolish. As they say on the Street: Never fight the Fed. Investors were also reacting to nuggets of promise among the gloomy eco-

nomic headlines. An index of help-wanted advertising turned upward for the first time in five months. A survey by Chicago's Federal Reserve Bank of 28 well-regarded economists and analysts concluded that this recession could show a decline in gross national product of as little as 0.6%, vs. the average recessionary swing of 2.6% from peak to bottom. The amount of goods sitting in warehouses is extraordinarily low-as a propor-

"The guestion of the hour is whether the market is right. One always stands humbly before the market."

-James Grant, editor Grant's Interest Rate Observer

tion of sales, it's the lowest in more than a decade-and economists expect it to fall further in the next several weeks. Explains Kenneth Goldstein of the Conference Board, a national business-research organization: "Inventories are so scarce that any demand will result in an immediate injection of new production orders."

Which raises the question of where that demand might come from. The most significant drag on the economy, say managers, economists, investors and consumers, is uncertainty. People seem paralyzed, partly by the war, partly by worry over the mess in the banking industry. In a TIME/CNN poll conducted last week by Yankelovich, Clancy & Shulman, 63% of respondents said they expect the economy to get worse, vs. 31% who expect it to improve. Says John McCov, chairman and chief executive of Ohio-based Banc One, among the nation's most prosperous banks: "The numbers may indicate a moderate and short recession, but can you believe the numbers? The issue no one knows about is the length of the war. Whether it's car dealers or retailers, everyone is just not doing anything."

Some executives insist that the war is not a serious business concern for them since their major fear-that hostilities would multiply the price of oil-proved unfounded. "We've never felt that war was as important as the Fed or financial markets," says Jerry Jasinowski, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. But the attitudes of individual buyers determine the shape of America's consumer economy, and they still seem tied to the war's progress. Darryl Hartley-Leonard, president of Hyatt Hotels, figures that "if the war were to end in April, there would be such euphoria that it would kick us right out of this

Wall Streeters are comforted that some of the smartest investors seem to be confident. Warren Buffett, the Wall Street legend who in a lifetime has turned \$9,000 into more than \$3 billion. recently bought major stakes in troubled industries. He invested an estimated \$250 million in Wells Fargo & Co. and \$300 million in Champion International, a paperproducts company. Laurence Tisch and his family-controlled Loews Corp, have sunk hundreds of millions of dollars into Bank of Boston and Continental Bank. Concludes security analyst Bruce Benteman,

who tracks the nation's wealthiest stock pickers: "Everyone thinks our problems in banking and real estate are worse than they've ever been, but the smartest investors are saving these aren't anything that can't be dealt with.

Most economists prefer to stress the uncertainty in the economy, but pin them down and their consensus is that growth should resume sometime in the second quarter. Not rapid

growth-perhaps at an annual rate of only 1% or 2%. But when it comes, it will be a welcome change from the 2.1% shrinkage in the last quarter of 1990. Precisely how soon the U.S. recession will end seems to depend most on whether the war is long or short. While the answer to that one is anybody's guess, America's investors have emphatically made a judgment. - With reporting by William McWhirter/Chicago

Business Notes

GOVERNMENT

Not Labor's Lady

Political honeymoons seldom begin as auspiciously as Lynn Martin's. Last week the Senate

voted 94 to 0 to confirm the five-term Illinois Congresswoman, who was defeated in a race for the U.S. Senate last November, as George Bush's new Labor Secretary.

A fiscal conservative who is a moderate on social issues, Martin, 51, built a reputation as The new Secretary



a Republican maverick by voting to override Bush's vetoes of bills raising the federal minimum wage and guaranteeing family and medical leave for workers. Despite those votes, organized labor isn't happy. "Her voting record has not reflected a sensitivity

to the needs of workers," plained Lane Kirkland, president of the 14 million-member AFL-CIO, Business groups such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers welcomed her appointment.

ENTREPRENEURS

Profits in Bloom

Being stationed in the gulf doesn't mean you can't send Valentine's Day flowers back home. Several hundred servicemen have placed orders with Calvx & Corolla, an innovative mail-order flower company in San Francisco. The troops get a 20% Valentine's discourft.

Under founder and president Ruth Owades, the threeyear-old company has reached

sales of \$10 million. By contracting directly with 25 domestic and four foreign growers and teaming up with Federal Express, Owades cuts out wholesalers and retailers, guaranteeing that flowers or plants can be delivered within 48 hours and trimming costs as much as 15%. Customers of Calvx & Corollathe name refers to the outer and inner parts of a flower-receive six catalogs a year, offering arrangements ranging from \$25 (nine Enchantment Lilies) to \$450 (a year's worth of orchids).

SAVINGS AND LOANS **Audit at Your Peril**

It was another nail-biting week for the number crunchers at Ernst & Young. America's biggest accounting firm tentatively agreed to pay some \$40 million to the Federal Government for faulty work done by a predecessor firm, Arthur Young & Co., on behalf of Charles Keating's failed Lincoln Savings. The set-

tlement could be a bargain: it should keep Ernst from being named in a \$2 billion government fraud-and-racketeering suit stemming from Lincoln's collanse.

But the accounting firm barely has time to celebrate. The SEC is investigating whether 36 Young partners improperly borrowed money from Re publicbank of Dallas. Some of them had audited the bank (and certified it healthy) a year before it also crumbled

AUTOS **GM Gets a** Little Slimmer

For the first time since 1980, General Motors ordered deep cuts in the dividends it pays to stockholders-from 75e to 40e

a share. GM also said it will curtail executive bonuses this year and phase out 15,000 white-col-

Oldsmobiles crowd a Michigan lot

lar jobs by 1993. The dividend cut alone will save \$840 million a year

Industry experts foresee even worse news ahead for the company: they project a \$1.4 billion loss, the firm's worst ever, when fourth-quarter 1990 earnings are announced this week. But Wall Street analysts applaud GM's moves, saving they indicate that the world's largest

automaker is preparing for a long. hard recession. And with sales of domestic cars plummeting 31% in January to the lowest level since 1982, they predict that Ford and Chrysler will be forced to make similar cuts in the spring



AIRLINES

Darwinism Aloft

Even as allied planes dominate Middle East skies, a big dogfight may be developing above the U.S. The gulf conflict has sent jet-fuel prices soaring and passenger travel plunging, creating brutal competition in the airline industry. Last week the big got bigger as American, United Delta and Northwest all picked over the carcass of Eastern Air Lines. In a bankruptcy auction they divvied up 238 landing and takeoff slots, 48 boarding gates and four of the failed carrier's routes. The biggest winner: Delta. with 16 landing and takeoff slots, 21 boarding gates and three routes serving Canada for \$157 mil lion. The losers: small carriers such as Amer-

ica West, Midwest Express and Southwest, which bid but came up empty

Carriers that were already weak lost even more altitude. Pan Am, which filed for bankruptcy last month, announced that it would cut its work force 15%, or 4,000 employees, while further scaling back service to Europe. Financially troubled TWA missed scheduled debt payments of \$76 million. Says industry analyst Rose Ann Tortora: "The strong are getting stronger, and the weak are screaming uncle."



Women on the Verge of A Nervy Breakthrough

Bucking Hollywood's musclemania, Jodie Foster and a clutch of fine young actresses snag some serious roles

By RICHARD CORLISS

arice Starling, Pst trainee, is one smart cookie, brighter and more acutely intuitive than the men in charge. Yet she treats them all—bosses, bureaucrats, the occasional serial killer—with an elaborate respect whose irony shows only at the cutting edges. When an asplam director sneers that Starling has wasted his time, she replies, "Yessir, but then I would've missed the pleasure of your company, sir: "That second aris the

Clarice (Jodie Foster) is the hero of The Silence of the Lumbs, a pretty sharp new thriller about a woman poised between two multiple murderers: one a sadsadist (Ted Levine) who flays his victims to "harvest their hidse," the other are perints (Arthory Hopkins) who might be mussed to help Starfing solve the crimes. With or without him, she is bound to with the start of the start of the start of the young woman whom a madman has put down a deep hole, and she will prove herself up to doing a man's job.

If you had Hollywood's taste for melodrama, you could see Clarice as an apt emblem of women in American movies. Patronized and endangered. Deemed too small, too soft to show muscle at the box office. Working-or, more often, not working-at the whim of the men who make the movies. According to the Screen Actors Guild, only 29.1% of all feature-film roles in 1989 went to women. The average male SAG member earned 60% more than the average female; of actors in their 50s, men earned 150% more. "It looks to me as though females get hired along procreative lines," says Carrie Fisher, actress (Star Wars) and writer (Postcards from the Edge). "After 40, we're kind of cooked."

Meryl Streep, 41, dominates serious film roles as no actress has before. She gets about \$4 \text{ million a picture, a fraction of the booty commanded by the dozen or so male stars with whom the world is on a first-anne basis (Arnold, Sly, Bruce, Jack, Eddie, Tom . . .). And her sisters on the screen make fare less in far fewer roles. "If the trend continues," Streep told a sxo women's conference last summer, "by the



Bening: a sex kitten in control

year 2000 women will represent 13% of all roles. And in 20 years we will have been eliminated from movies entirely. But that's not going to happen, is it, ladies?"

It won't happen. High-budget action movies will always require a bimbo, a girl-friend. And films with an eye toward Oscar will always need Meryl Streep. But the her of bigger men in bigger movies will always need Meryl Streep. But the continue as long as the international audience pays to see them. In her one block-buster of the '80°, Our of Africa, Streep took second billing to Robert Redford. And if industry solons grumble when an Eddie Murphy movie makes only \$60 million (Hardem Nights) or \$80 million (Anoth-line).



Roberts: a canny, girl-next-door beauty



Leigh: subtle shadings in little-noticed roles

er 48 HRS), should they cheer when the Streep-Fisher Postcards hits \$40 million? Last year, when Hollywood shot its wad on steroid spectacles, and the \$60 million budget became a ho-hum affair, moviegoers provided a surprise punch line to the financial joke the industry had been playing on itself, For the first time in moguls' mem-



Ryder: precocious craft, sepulchral glamour

ory, none of the top three hits were an action adventure with a big male star. Ghost and Pretty Woman were romantic fantasies angled to women; Home Alone, the year's box-office winner, starred a nine-year-old boy. These modest movies were old-fashioned sleepers, whose success suggested a future for women's movies.

It is unlikely, though, that they signal a return to Hollywood's golden age, when Garbo, Davis, Hepburn, Crawford, Dietrich could sell a film and give it class. That was a more genteel time, one that prized wit, heart and, on screen at least, a sexual equality of emotion and intelligence. Movies were about grownups; the toy-boy heroes stayed in comic books. Maybe audiences were more mature too. These days, Ghost and Pretty Woman are the big-hit exception, not the norm; moviegoers tend to measure heroism in terms of pectorals. Somewhere between Rambo and bimbo, between roles for children (the only age group in which the movies employ more females than males) and the over-40 wasteland, lies the precarious terrain where fine young actresses can do fine work. Just now that acreage is the property of Julia Roberts, currently starring in Sleeping with the Enemy. Her combination of girl-next-door beauty, canny vulnerability and great good fortune in roles quickly begat hit movies (Steel Magnolias, Pretty Woman), which beget a first look at the hottest scripts. Which means that every other young actress gets sloppy seconds. Says Carrie Fisher: "I wouldn't want to look over my shoulder at Julia Roberts," But some of Roberts' peers don't. They look harder for parts, look deeper into their talent, look hopefully to

an industry that will find room for them all. Demi Moore had the best role of 1990,

If you multiply intensity of character by box-office impact. As the grieving widow in Gfoss, Moore grounded the preposterous plot—she gets a last chance to make love with her lost lowe—and gave it resonance. She has shone in romantic comedy (about last night...) and Brat Pack frippery (St. Elmo's Fire). She always seems wired; nerves on edge, claint on display.

ennifer Jason Leigh shines, but in a different equation: she has been terrific in a dozen films almost nobody has seen. Her only hit was Fast Times at Ridgemont High, and that was a decade ago. Her main roles are as dimwit sluts and babes in bondage. But the daughter of actor Vic Morrow finds subtle shadings in all these parts: the put-upon homeowner in Heart of Midnight, the woozy Delta princess in Sister Sister, the victimized trollop Tra-La-La in Last Exit to Brooklyn and, triumphantly, the pathetic young prostitute in Miami Blues. A ferocious student in the Method tradition, Leigh has crammed for everything but stardom. That too will come, if she gets some of the luck denied to the characters she makes sizzle on-screen.

Annette Bening plays whores too— Hollywood sometimes thinks that for women prostitution is the world's only profession—but these doxies are in control. The smile that dimples her face in Fallmour International Programs of the Control of the maticipating a hearty meal. An off-Broadway alumnus, Bening also did brief time in Postcarth from the Edge as a romantic rival of Meryl Streep's. Time will tell if she can challenge Streep's pre-eminence. For now she seems a better bet as a threat to Kathium seek-litric list shere.

Winnona Ryder, at 19, has already achieved the status of existentialist's pinup. Her characters—the death-devoted child in Beatlediuc, the reckless intellectual in in Beatlediuc, the reckless intellectual in Heathers, the Jewish teen obsessed with Heathers, the Jewish teen obsessed with Catholic saints in Mernaudis—are moody airs in a spook sonata. If the Beat Generation is due for a "908 comeback, Ryder will be its patron saint. But there is precoclous craft anchoring the attitude, and a sepul-chral glamour that makes her the wannawatch face of the '908 and bevon watch face of the '908 and bevon watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the '908 and bevon the saint watch face of the saint watch watch watch face of the saint watch watch watch watch watch watch watch watc

emotions, her fears. Both head and heart. It's not about brawn '

Silence, under Jonathan Demme's direction, is a compelling, judicious scare show that occasionally suffers from excess of heart and a certain softheadedness. It fudges the complex psychosis of Hopkins' Dr. Lecter-"Hannibal the Cannibal" preens too much and bites too rarely-and is so little interested in the inner workings of its other murderer, a would-be transsexual, that some critics have accused the film of gay baiting. Clarice, for the most part an exemplary sleuth, nearly stumbles at the climax into the tritest of movie stereotypes, the klutzy victim. Thomas Harris' source novel got all this right, in taut, probing prose. Demme's Silence is a good thriller from a great chiller.

Any movie can deliver tingles by placing a little lady in an old dark house. What beguiled Demme and Foster was the character study of a young woman discovering strength under pressure. Clarice is under scrutiny by everyone, especially the camera. It observes her in relentless close-ups, and Foster, her mouth set in a line as straight as Clarice's priorities, doesn't wilt under the glare. After The Accused, which won her an Academy Award as the good-time girl who confronts her rapists. Foster can be declared current world champion of the working-class woman standing tall in crisis.

f Foster ever doubted the seductiveness of this role, she need only have considered the competition. "Women's roles are rarely written as human beings," she says, "Instead, they are written as plot adjuncts; sister of, daughter of. The hero has to save someone, so they wrap that someone in cord and put her on a railroad track. But don't kid yourself: there are very few good scripts-for men, women or dogs. This business has gotten to the point where everyone writes from the producer's notes, or they write for audience marketing." Then this 19-year movie veteran segues to long shot, "It all goes in phases," she says. "I have seen everyone come and go. In the long run, you have to stick with quality. The only thing you can count on is your instinct

for quality Now she is testing that instinct in her directorial debut with Little Man Tate, the story of a child prodigy (Adam Hann-Byrd), his caring mother (Foster) and a psychiatrist (Dianne Wiest). The film is due in the fall, but this month the new auteur is ecstatic. "I'm jammin'," she says, "It's getting a little hectic, but it's coming along great."

Let's do a quick fade-out on that happy ending; women in movies have so few. What they and Hollywood need is to start at Reel 1 with a happy beginning. Meryl Streep can star, Carrie Fisher will write the script. And Jodie Foster, a child of the movies who has always known the direction she and her films should take, will shout, "Action!" And never mind the sir. -Reported by Elizabeth L. Bland / Los Angeles

Video

And Now, a R-r-really Big Shew

THE VERY BEST OF THE ED SULLIVAN SHOW; CBS; Feb. 17; 9 p.m. EST

e couldn't dance. He didn't sing. And he bungled jokes. His malaprops and this visual anthology features many highmannerisms endlessly inspired comic impersonators, "Let's hear it for the Lord's Prayer," he once croaked, after a tenor had sung it. During a lavish encomium to the Supremes he forgot the trio's name and concluded lamely: "Here are the girls." Looking somewhat like a Great Stone Face transplanted from Easter Island to Broadway, he would rock back and forth onstage,

February 1964: the Great Stone Face chats up the Fab Four

Also jugglers, comics, Motown singers and opera divas.

hands across chest or clutching his kidneys, while in baleful voice he introduced a succession of comedians, jugglers, rock bands and animal acts.

If charisma were all that counted, Ed Sullivan should have been pink-slipped after his first broadcast (on what was originally called Toast of the Town) in 1948. Yet for 23 years after that, for millions of Americans, Sunday night at 8 belonged to CBS, home of television's longest-running prime-time vaudeville, The Ed Sullivan

At one time TV dismissed its early years, like a bad dream or an unhappy childhood. But nostalgia is in vogue these days: recycling golden oldies can mean money in the bank. As the centerpiece of a "Classic Weekend" that also includes anniversary tributes to All in the Family and Mary Tyler Moore, CBS this Sunday will offer a two-hour special, The Very Best of the Ed Sullivan Show. With Carol Burnett as host and fond reminiscences by Alan King, lights that have not been seen since they were first broadcast.

Sullivan liked to promise his audiences "a r-r-really big shew," and far more often than not he delivered. "Ed Sullivan was America's taste," observes Rivers, which is probably as good an explanation as any for the program's long-running success. A Manhattan-born sportswriter turned

show-biz columnist for the New York Daily News, Sullivan had a reporter's instinct for what was hot. and he outhustled rivals to showcase new talent, notably Elvis Presley and the Beatles. And not just in pop. Sullivan proudly treated his audiences to classical excellence in the personae of opera diva Joan Sutherland and ballet stars Rudolf Nureyev and Margot Fonteyn, He encouraged black artists at a time when TV offered them few opportunities. Ella Fitzgerald and Pearl Bailey were all but regulars: Motown stars-from Smokey Robinson to the winsome little Jackson Five-got ample display.

The Very Best was produced by Andrew Solt, a

TV-documentary specialist who spent a year negotiating the rights to 1,087 hours of taped broadcasts from the host's son-in-law and former producer. Robert Precht, (Sullivan died of cancer in 1974.) Solt is editing the shows into 130 half-hour segments, which he plans to offer for syndication, package as home videos

and use as the basis for future TV specials. Why not just rerun the originals? Solt's answer is that their pacing is too languid for modern tastes, which is probably true but also beside the point. Early TV was shot live, and a considerable part of its charm-witness The Honeymooners-was its ramshackle unpredictability. The Very Best solidly documents Sullivan's skill as a talent scout but gives little sense of the show's herky-jerky rhythm and calculated structure-one novelty act, two comic spots and so on-or of its host's weird, looming omnipresence. Solt's deconstruction is a pleasant memory tickler. It could have been more. By John Elson. With reporting by William Tynan/New York



Ronnie's Iron 80

Saddam Hussein failed to send greetings, but just about everyone else did. The Holly-wood crowd turned out in force—including old pals Liz Taylor and Jimmy Stewart—and Vice President Dan Quayle led a bevy of politicians as 900 guests gathered at the Beverly Hilton to celebrate Ronald Reagan's 80th birthday. With tables costing up to \$25,000 apiece, the purse for Reagan's presidential library, a building in near-lial library, a building in search.

by Simi Valley, got a big boost. But the star of the gathering was none other than Margaret Thatcher, an old friend of Ron and Nancy's. The Iron Lady's introduction was interrupted by a standing ovation, causing her to remark. "That's a far better reception than I ever received at the House of the House



Have Steinway, Will Travel

It's not Carnegie Hall, but for pianist LAURA SPITZER the American West is a spiffy stage. In a big white truck she travels the country with her Steinway, bringing Chopian and Mozar Lor nuralles who rarely get large chops and whomat to nuralles who rarely get ing schools, churches—anywhere they if plant downs feveral rule has been a considerable of the country of

Taking Over

No order is too tall for Danny DeVito, who stands at a full 5 ft. He'll sign on for the role of the hyperactive, head-bumping Mario in a film based on the Nintendo Super Mario Bros. video games. Meanwhile, he's been in Manhattan's canvons of finance shooting the film Other People's Money, in which he plays a takeover titan known as Larry the Liquidator. DeVito admires the character: "I respect a man who sees the opportunity to make money and goes after it." To prepare for his role, he spent time tailing investment bankers and learning their ways. It's a raid! Don't anybody move.



The Return of Tom Swift

Remember TOM SWIFT? He was young, daring, brilliant—and he hell properties of the could invent just about anything print 20 years ago, but starting in Agward 19 years ago, and Tom went no to invent the movine camera and ago.



photo telephone. But with a new book every other month, the writers will have to do far better for Tom's exploits in the high-tech '90s. First out will be The Black Dragon, in which the teen's high-flying, superconductive skyboard is stolen or evil purposes.

Thrice Spoken

Sinéad O'Connor likes speaking out almost as much as singing. She skipped a Saturday Night Live show to boycott comedian Andrew Dice Clay and refused to have the The Star-Spangled Banner played before a concert. Now she's decided to skip next week's Grammy Awards. Her reason this time; to protest the gulf war and society's "misguided materialism." "Artists are afraid that speaking out will hurt their careers," says the Irish singer. "I

want to prove that there is nothing that can harm you when you speak the truth."



Religion

More Spongtaneous Eruptions

An Episcopal bishop's unorthodoxy reaches epic proportions

esus Christ, as portrayed in some New Testament passages, is "narrow-minded" and "vindictive." The Gospel writers "twisted" the facts concerning Jesus' resurrection, which was never meant to be taken literally. The virgin birth of Christ is an unthinkable notion, and there is not much value in the doctrine of the Trinity, or in the belief that Jesus Christ was sent to save fallen humanity from sin. St. Paul, the missionary of Christianity to the Gentiles, was a repressed and "self-loathing" homosexual. As for the Old Testament, it contains a "vicious tribal code of ethics" attributed to a "sadistic" God. The idea that Yahweh bestowed the Promised Land upon the Israelites is "arrogance.

Excerpts from a tract by a

staunch atheist? On the contrary, those are assertions offered by a bishop of America's Episcopal Church, John Spong of Newark, in his new book, Rescuing the Bible from Fundamentalism (Harper San Francisco, \$16.95). Spong's unorthodoxy is of long standing, but it has now reached epic proportions. His previous book, Living in Sin?, assailed Christian dos and don'ts on sex and asserted that nonmarital sex can be holy under some circumstances. After the work appeared in 1988, Spong ordained a sexually active gay priest, inspiring the Episcopal House of Bishops to "disassociate" itself from Spong's action.

The provocative prelate also has Ro-



Are there limits to what a churchman may disbelieve?

man Catholics furning. A task force in his Newark diocese has just declared that Catholicism's view of women is "so insulting, so retrograde that we can respond only by saying that women should, for the sake of their own humanity, leave that communion." Spong handpicked the panel, and offers no particular criticism of its assertions, though he says he might have employed milder language. Newark's Catholic Archbishop, Theodore McCarrick, has decried the "offensive attacks" on Catholicism.

In Rescuing the Bible, Spong brands traditional Catholicism as a "destructive" creed. But he is even more offended by conservative Protestants who take a literal view of biblical exegesis, Spong, 59, held similar beliefs in his boyhood as a practicing Presbyterian, and has admitted that Fundamentalism gave him a "love of Scripture that is

no longer present in the liberal tradition of the church." In taking aim at literalism, Spong declares his goal is to reveal the spiritual truths underlying the biblical text. Still, his book lashes out both at the conservative view of the Bible and at its adherents, who are, Spong says, consumed by "enormous fear" of doctrinal uncertainty.

Spong's wildly offbeat convictions raise an intriguing question: Are there any limits to what an Episcopal leader may believe-or disbelieve? His Paul-was-gay argument, based tenuously upon the

Apostle's unmarried state and frequently mentioned sense of personal sin, is causing a growing uproar among traditionalists. But conservative Bishop William Frey, president of Pennsylvania's Trinity Episcopal School for Ministry, doubts

any decisive stand will be taken by the church against his colleague's writings. The House of Bishops has shown itself to be impotent in the face of challenges to the core beliefs of the church." Frey says, "We've been paralyzed by our politeness,

Los Angeles Bishop Frederick Borsch, who chairs the hierarchy's theology committee (on which Spong sits), explains that "we are not a confessional church that tries to write a definition of orthodoxy. A lot of us would defend this as the genius of Episcopalianism." Spong's latest work, however, leaves the genius somewhat embattled. By Richard N. Ostling.

Reported by Michael P. Harris/Newark

Milestones

DISMISSED. Eight state tax-evasion charges; against Leona Helmsley, 70, hotel operator; on the grounds of double jeopardy; in New York, Helmsley is appealing an earlier federal decision, on which she was sentenced to four years in prison, fined \$7 million and ordered to perform 750 hours of community service.

DIED. Danny Thomas, 79, comedian and philanthropist; in Los Angeles. In the 1950s and '60s he starred in the television series Make Room for Daddy and The Danny Thomas Show as the family's cranky but kind patriarch. Born Muzyad Yakhoob to Lebanese immigrants in Deerfield, Mich., Thomas made a name for himself more as a storyteller than as a jokester in nightclubs, radio and films. In 1962 he founded the St. Jude Children's Research Hospital in Memphis to treat cancer-stricken youngsters. The Saturday before he died he appeared in his son's TV show Empty Nest.

DIED. James Knight, 81, co-founder of the Knight newspaper chain; in Santa Monica, Calif. In 1933 Knight, with his brother, inherited the troubled Akron Beacon Journal and turned it around. The self-described "nuts and bolts" man of the empire. Knight later pushed his brother to purchase the Miami Herald, Detroit Free Press and Philadelphia Inquirer. In 1974 they merged with Ridder Publications; the Knight-Ridder chain now has 29 dailies.

DIED. Pedro Arrupe, 83, Spanish-born head of the Jesuits from 1965 to '83; in Rome. During his tumultuous reign over the largest Roman Catholic order, Arrupe was

considered one of the most influential superiors general in the Society of Jesus' 450-year history. In 1981 Arrupe, whose liberal stances frequently put him at odds with the papacv. suffered a stroke and in 1983 became the first

superior general to resign instead of dving

in office as his predecessors did.

DIED. Dean Jagger, 87, actor in more than 100 films who won an Oscar for Twelve O'Clock High; in Santa Monica, Calif.

DIED. Aaron Siskind, 87, photographer whose almost abstract black-and-white pictures were an influence on postwar Abstract Expressionists; in Providence.

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Books

Portrait of the Young Artist

A LIFE OF PICASSO, VOL. 1 by John Richardson Random House; 560 pages; \$39.95

By ROBERT HUGHES

ablo Picasso (1881-1973) was the most fertile artist of the 20th century, and immense quantities of ink have been spilt over his work. He was, you might say without too much exaggeration, both the last hero of Romantic culture and the first of the age of publicity: a prodigy of talent on

permanent display in an age of mass media. No other artist, not even Michelangelo, had been famous in quite this way before.

Because his public career lasted most of the 20th century. Picasso has been seen through many distorting filters. The latest is the complacent feminist critique that seeks to jettison the idea of the "great artist" and to flatten his work into stereotypes of patriarchy and misogyny. But where is the book that gives us the actual man?

Over the years Picasso has been the subject of much penetrating scholarship, but also of too much guff. There have been hundreds of books about Picasso, but no really satisfactory biography until now. Those written in English tended to be useful but overadoring, like the 1958 life by his close friend Roland Penrose; or deplorably ignorant, like Picasso: Creator and Destroyer (1988), by Arianna Stassinopoulos Huffington. To draw Picasso whole, in full context, is a daunting task; but now that the first of John Richardson's four volumes is out, one sees that it

could indeed be done. This is probably the last serious biography of Picasso that will be written by anyone who knew him well. Richardson, now 67, first met the artist when he was living in France in the early 1950s; their rapport lasted 10 years, and the young English art critic kept ample notes. With the assistance of art historian Marilyn McCully (whose speciality is turn-of-the-century Barcelona, where Picasso's talent was incubated). Richardson has mined a large seam of material. He was, for instance, the first biographer allowed to consult Picasso's own archives. He knows the work intimately, and is skilled at teasing out its recurrent strands of imagery-those pointers to Picasso's deepest impulses-across a long span of

The result is a life story in the classic mold. The idea that an artist's work can be approached through the events of his life is disparaged by some academic critics. Certainly one learns little about some artists-Braque, for instance, or even Matisse-from the tenor of their day-to-day lives. But with Picasso, who viewed his art as a diary, the life is the best key to the



Chronicling the century's most fertile artist. work. And the work is suffused with the man's traits: his extreme machismo, his predatory eye (the Andalusian mirada

fuerte, or gaze of power, which, as Richardson rightly argues, was one of Picasso's fetishes), his belief in the magic power of images, his emotional cannibalism, his charisma and sardonic wit. Richardson shows how these developed in the young Picasso while debunking such legends as the notion that he drew like a child prodigy, a visual Mozart.

The narrative frame is short. It brings Picasso from childhood through the Blue and Rose periods, stopping in 1907 just as the 25-year-old artist was souping himself up (under the influence of El Greco) to produce what would turn out to be the em-

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Books

blematic radical painting of the century, Les Demoiselles d'Avignon. Richardson is a born storyteller, with a vivid sense of detail and character that enables him to deal with the large cast of players entangled in Picasso's early life, from obscure Catalan artists, shady French art dealers and questing Russian collectors to writers like Alfred Jarry, Max Jacob, Guillaume Apollinaire and that redoubtable, droning narcissist, the Miss Piggy of the American expatriate avant-garde, Gertrude Stein.

R ichardson's account of such figures has to be the most readable description of the avant-garde milieu of 1900s Paris since Roger Shattuck's classic work, The Banquet Years. But they are not there as mere background; their impact on Picasso, their role in the formation of his ideas and imagery, is carefully assessed. One sees, for instance, what Picasso's work got from his "odd couple" friendship with his diametric opposite, the mercurial, spiritually obsessed Jewish homosexual Jacob: it was the vein of mystical imagery, the fascination with arcana, the tarot and the figure of the artist as Hermes Trismegistus, that pervades the Blue Period and culminates in his first masterpiece, La Vie, 1903. Likewise, Richardson is very shrewd about Picasso's relations with Stein, pointing out how her egotism was so resistant to his that she became one of his early real-life icons: her bulky presence, Richardson speculates, fused with childhood memories of his mother, led to the unnaturally massive torsos of his postwar classical nudes.

Richardson explores areas left untouched by earlier writers. Picasso and his girlfriend Fernande Olivier, for example, spent a good deal of their time between 1904 and 1908 high on opium, but the relevance of this to the empty-eyed, dreaming waif figures of the Rose Period had gone unnoted before. He does much to clear up the vexed question of Picasso's politics, pointing out-contrary to recent theses on the subject-that the anarchist ideas loose in the air of Barcelona had next to no provable effect on his work, and that as a young artist he was timorously apolitical. The figures of his Blue Period-especially the consumptive-looking girls whose traits he got from visits to the Saint-Lazare prison for "fallen women" in Paris-were not meant as symbols of social inequality; they have much more to do with Picasso's relish for victims.

All along the way, Richardson gives a richly informed and lucid account of the dynamics of Picasso's growth, neither sparing his failures nor losing sight of his quintessential Spanishness. The story pulls like a locomotive and can only gather more energy in volumes to come. If its promise is sustained, Richardson will be to Picasso what Richard Ellmann has been to Joyce, or Richard Holmes to Coleridge.

Working Lives

SIGN OFF by Jon Katz Bantam; 374 pages; \$18.95

ost books set in the TV-news industry are about the drama of a big story, the intrigue of an unfolding scandal or the power and glamour and sheer money associated with being a big-league anchor. interviewer or producer. In fiction and reality, TV executives often characterize themselves the way characters do in Jon Katz's roman à clef: as ranking among "the 25,000 most successful people in the world," right up there with generals, Senators, tycoons and Third World dictators. But here the big story and intrigue are inside TV itself-the takeover of a network very much like CBS, where Katz was executive producer of the Morning News from 1983 to 1985. The corporate raider is compounded in equal measure of Donald Trump, CBS chief executive Laurence Tisch and a handful of other hardball players from the headlines. Katz's hero is a work-obsessed producer who undergoes a classic mid-life crisis in which he questions the value of ambition, propositions a female colleague, visits a prostitute, loses his job and realizes that there is more to life.

Much of the plot revisits territory from the stage hit Other People's Money, the movie Wall Street and a shell of recent non-fiction, not to mention such Eisenhower-era cautionary tales as The Man in the Gray Flamed Suit. Kat'z prose is competent, his dialogue serviceable and his cast of characters large and mostly faceless (dalhough its obsessives stand out: a shopworn survivor of the executive-suite wars; a by-hook-or-by-crook booker of talk-show interview-ees; and a tough, mortalistic accountant).

Three qualities elevate the book to the memorable, First, Katz knows TV, not just the details that lend verisimilitude but the mind-set and values. Any seasoned journalist is likely to identify with some incident and feel a twinge of shame. Second, rather than fulminate against barbarian interlopers. Katz is candid about the waste, carelessness and openly tolerated thievery that made their raids possible. The TV business, he says, was not businesslike. Third, Katz does not exploit the melodrama of the takeover. He largely ignores the boardroom fighting and has the actual bloodless coup take place off-page. His real subject is what work means, whether to a honcho or to a coffee-cart handler-how a job becomes an identity, so that losing it forces a person not only to plan a future but also to re-evaluate the past. Job cuts are a standard TV-news topic. Katz proves that fiction can be far more evocative in making this loss of personhood really matter to the rest of us. -By William A. Henry III

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Living

When Dad and Mom Go to War

The deadly reality of war comes home to the military couples separated from their children by Operation Desert Storm

By ALAIN L. SANDERS



Brenda Jarmon of Tallahassee still remembers the chilling August phone call. Her daughter, Corporal Lynette Guthery of the Army's 24th Infantry Divi-

Army's 24th Infantry Division (mechanized), based outside Hinesville, Ga., needed a precious favor. Could the 40-year-old grandmother take care of 22-year-old Ikea—immediately? Both Lynette and her separted Army husband had been ordered to Saudi Arabia, and lace needed a mew home right wawy. Of course, answered Jarmon, promply placing her life, and her Pfa.D thesis in social work, on hold. She had signed papers earthment of the place of a military deployment. But now she says, "I never thought of war; it never entered my mind."

Four weeks into Operation Desert Storm, the deadly reality of war has come home for the grandmothers and grandfathers, aunts and uncles, sisters and brothers and family friends who have suddenly been pressed into a very special type of war service: tending children whose parents or whose single parent has been shipped to the Persian Gulf.

The questions, doubts and fears surrounding these children are some of the most wrenching consequences of the nation's decision to develop an all-volunteer military and to give women an expanded and more egalitarian role in it. Only now is the Pentagon conducting a survey to determine how many single parents and military couples with minor children are on active duty. Some experts guess that 140,000 people are married to others in the military and that 67,000 single parents are in the U.S. armed forces. Suddenly, many mothers and fathers who joined the services in peacetime to begin a career-sometimes out of sheer economic necessity-are discovering that the job is ripping both of them away from their children. Worse, those caring for the children back home fear that the task may become permanent. Asks grandmother Mary Villarreal of Pasadena, Texas, charged with taking care of four-month-old twins whose Marine mother and father are in Saudi Arabia: "What if something happens to both of them? Then what about the babies. What becomes of them?

The Pentagon's answer so far has been blunt: the risk is one that military couples accepted when both husband and wife enlisted. "It would be a serious mistake, purcicularly while we are engaged in combat," says Defense Seccetary Disk Cheney, "or terests out four gestanding policy that single proposes and season of the second proposes of the where in the world." To make sure surwhere in the world." To make sure that children are not simply abandoned, the Pentagon insists that parents appoint a guardian for them. Each service also operates a family-upport network that includes counseling for custodians and the indiffern. But there are no special exempwell, they say, he frequently asks what might happen to his mother and father. When Carlos learned of the initial raids on Baghdad not the car raids coming home from a baskethall game, he turned silent. "We never lie to the children," says Susan Menard. "When they her about flighting, we check it out and make sure to tell them that these are still the airplanes and that their parents are nowhere near them."

The emotional strain weighs on the military aprents, who find themselves torn between the call of their country and the needs of their children. "They miss them; they feel robbed," says Villarreal, who puts the twin infants in her care close to the phone whenever their mom Laura calls from Saudi Arabia, just so she can hear them crv.

Critics of the Pentagon policy charge that neither military parents nor their children need suffer so much grief. Last month Republican Senator John Heinz of Pennsyl-



Susan and John Menard reading to their temporary charges, Carlos and Carmen Lopez
Those looking out for the children fear that the task may become permanent.

tions from war-zone service for military couples or single parents.

Many children's rights advocates, mental health professionals and terrified guardians say the no-exception policy is unconscionable. Experts are worried that children who lose both parents may suffer mental trauma, including deep feelings of grief and abandonment, and serious psychological problems in later life.

Brendi Jarmon says Ikea often leaves her bed in the middle of the night to sleep with her grandmother. When she gets letters from her mother, she asks me to read them over and over again and keeps them under her pillow for safkeceping. "says Jarmon. John and Susan Menard of Hinesville, Ga, clease friends of Army sergeans Dionical Control of the Control of the Control ther military couple's two youngsters. Although Carlos, 9, seems to have adiusted vania and Democratic Representative Barbara Boxer of California introduced similar gulf-orphan legislation. Their bills would allow single parents, or one parent in the case of a military couple with minor children, to decline a war-zone assignment. Military officials would choose which parent to exempt in the case of a couple.

The measures build on long-standing military regulations that spare from combat anyone who is a sole surviving child or whose closest relatives have been killed in in other states. Says Boxer: "This is a volunteer army, but these are not volunteer children. They took no part in any decision that may also supposes the measures. But as the prospect of a costly ground war grows, the matter could become an emotional issue on Capitol Hill. — Reported by Readue Chavit Washington

and Joseph J. Kane/Hinesville



HATS OFF TO NEW FINGERS A \$16,000 batteryoperated Myoelectric Arm, which Rick Bishop, 35, controls with his own muscles, helps him kid around with son Steve

DANCING THE NIGHT AWAY Tom Houston, 49 paralyzed from the waist down, takes a twirl with his wife in the \$11,000 Hi-Rider "standing wheelchair" he designed



Technology

Machines That Work Miracles

New equipment—and new attitudes—help the disabled get back into the swing

By ANN RI ACKMAN WASHINGTON

avid Bristol knows all about hardship-and overcoming it. The 42year-old government attorney, whose cubbyhole of an office is just across the street from the White House, was born with cerebral palsy. When he started his job with the U.S. Office of Thrift Supervision, his hands shook so much that it was impossible for him to type reports by himself.

But that was before technology lent him a hand. Watch him now. Taking a seat at his word processor, Bristol dons a headset with a microphone and starts to dictate. "This is a test of my new computer program," he says. As he talks, his words pop up on the screen. "This program allows me to dictate my weworts." Bristol spots the spelling mistake and grimaces, "Oops," he says into the microphone. The machine understands the word oops, backs up one word and automatically goes into spell-check mode. Five words sounding like weworts appear on the screen, including No. 3, "reports." Bristol snaps the command "Choose 3," and the word reports replaces weworts

The \$9,000 system, called DragonDictate, is not just a curiosity. It is on the cut-

ting edge of technology for the 43 million Americans with some form of physical disability. Equipment that uses computers, lasers and lightweight composite materials is enabling the disabled to overcome once insurmountable barriers and participate more directly in everyday life. This exciting-but still expensive-technology promises to open whole new vistas to those who have trouble seeing, hearing, walking, talking and even breathing.

People without the use of their arms or legs can now rely on computerized "sip and puff" machines. With light puffs into a plastic straw, users can switch on the TV and change its channels, telephone a friend and play computer games. Electronic nerve stimulars are helping men with severe spinal-cord injuries to father children; penile implants are enabling men who cannot sustain an erection to make love. Wheelchairs that stand up make it possible for the disabled to greet someone face-to-face and to take a book from a shelf. Laptop word processors that "talk" give individuals with no voice a way to communicate. Materials designed by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration reduce the average



weight of a crippled person's leg braces

from 6.4 kg (14 lbs.) to .6 kg (11 b.).
"When I entered this field 17 years ago, we had only low technology drah, durable needical equipment mostly made of steinless steel," says Jan Gabria, director of assential experiment of the control of the

Galvin is one of thousands of specialists—doctors, scientists and engineers working on designs to meet the needs of today's disabled population. "We used to look at people who were disabled as shutins," she says. "Not anymore. Computers, new materials and new attitudes have revolutionized our industry. If you can move one muscle in your body, wiggle a pinkie or to twich an eyebrow, we can design a switch to allow ou to operate in your environment."

Consider the case of Eileen Carlton, 65, of Danvers, Mass., who had a stroke five years ago and lost almost all ability to speak. Today, working with a visual-communications computer program designed by linguists at the Tufts University School of Medicine. Carlton uses symbols to construct sentences, so that she can communicate with her family and friends. "This has opened a whole new world to her," says her son Bill, 39. "Writing is too complicated for her, but she knows what she wants to say. So instead of spending the rest of her life playing charades, she uses symbols on the computer to tell us that she is visiting a neighbor or wants to go shopping. She's regained some control over her life.

Robert Cushmac, 16, of Alexandria, Va., was paralyzed from the neck down in a car accident six years ago. Now Bob gets around in a power wheelchair activated by a chin-controlled joustick. He is mobile to complet to stured TC. Williams public high school, where he is an honor student and a member of the French and Laint clubs. Unable to breathe without assistance, Bob has been fitted with an Avery Diaphragan Pacer, which uses a battery-powered transmitter to send electric impulses to his phrenic nerve. This causes his diaphragm to contract, stimcluding normal breathing. Without this beauting normal breathing. Without this Dr. Alam Fields, associate director of critical care at Children's Hospital in Washington.

ome of the new work is being done on old technology, "The old prosthesis was made of willow wood and was very heavy," says Kyle Scott, director of orthotics and prosthetics at the National Rehabilitation Hospital. "Now we're using polyesters and acrylic resins." Scott designed an artificial foot for Jeff Wycliffe. who had his left leg amputated just below the knee after a motorcycle accident three years ago. With the \$7,000 Flex Foot, Wycliffe, 24, not only walks without a limp, but also jogs, bats and plays volleyball and tackle football. In some ways, his replacement foot seems better than the original. "When I come down on it from a jump, I have a lot of spring," says Wycliffe.

The Du Pont Co. produces an acetal resinused to make the Seattle Foot, a flexible, lifelike prosthesis. Among well-satisfied customers is Bill Demby, a former high school basketball player who had both legs amputated below the knee after being caught in a rocket attack in Vietnam. In a widely broadcast Du Pont TV commercial, Demby is shown taking a jump shot in a school-vard game.

Perhaps the most remarkable devices are the computerized vans specially designed for disabled drivers. One owner is Pulitzer-prizewinning columnist Charles Krauthammer, who was paralyzed from the chest down in a diving accident 19 years ago. After logging 85,000 miles in one of SIGHT WRITING Nicholas Gonsalves, 32, can move only his eyes, but the

\$4,000 EyeTyper tracks those movements and "types" messages

these vans, Krauthammer just bought a customized \$53,000 Dodge Caravan designed by Les Schofield of San Antonio's International Mobility Products. Krauthammer calls Schofield the "Chuck Yeager of rehab technology."

To open the new van, Krauthammer holds a magnet up to a tail light, activating a door lock. The door slides open, the whole van lowers to a few centimeters off the ground, and a ramp slides into place. Krauthammer rolls his wheelchair onto the ramp and maneuvers it into the van. Once inside, his wheelchair locks into place and becomes the driver's seat. His right hand operates a horizontal steering wheel that takes almost no effort to turn; his left hand rests on a lever that activates a vacuum pump that in turn operates both the gas and brake controls. When the lever is pushed toward the window, the van accelerates; when it is pushed toward the center of the vehicle, the van brakes.

The main drawback to such a vehicle and to most of the other new technology—is its cost. Because 68% of disabled people are unemployed, many cannot afford the equipment, and insurance companies often do not cover the devices. "If there's no money available, there's no technology," says Dr. Fields. "It's a question of who pays."

The complex equipment can also be fragile and costly to maintain. Bob Cushmae's Diaphragm Pacer once shut down when he was caught in the rain. Another time it stopped when someone spilled cofe on it. He might have sufforeded, but a nurse is with him at all times to provide help. Says George Cushmae, Bob's father: "It's lowely stuff, but it comes with the price of having to repair it when it breaks down. This isn't like owning a Maytag washer with a servicement waiting to be called."

One reason for the high prices is that he severely disabled population is relatively small and divided into groups with specific needs. Since the market for many of the products is limited, companies cannot produce enough of them to reduce the price to a moderate level. And some promsing technologies may not interest any manufacturers. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for example, has been experimenting with a computerized brace experimenting with a computer diseases. So far, no company has agreed to market the device.

Despite such problems, the technological advances are undeniably dramatic, and an irreversible revolution is under way. It is up to scientists, researchers, doctors, insurance companies and governments to work together to provide America's disabled with more independence, more freedom and more hope—art a price they can afford.

Essay Margaret Carlson

Saddam Made Me Do It



The practice may have begun at a private school in Washington on Jan. 18, when a group of tenth-graders did poorly on a math test.

When the results came back, the class asked the teacher for a makeup exam, explaining how unfair it was to quiz them on the morning

how unfair it was to quiz them on the morning after the first missile attack of the war. They had lost too much sleep watching CNN the night before.

Children were among the first to sense the possibilities in blaming Saddam. They were encouraged by Mr. Rogers, who left his beautiful neighborhood to reassure the young during prime time that it was okay—indeed, it showed a certain precocious sensitivity—to be upset about the bombing in Baghdad. All this hand-wringing makes it seem that children have not managed to get through wars before and that death is some-

thing that can be understood, if only enough network anchors and child psychologists take to the airwaves to explain it. Fortunately, the average child, who sees more explicit violence viewing Saturdaymorning cartoons, is not likely to remain alarmed too long over anything that justifies increased television-watching privileges and provides air cover for a variety of mischief.

Soon, the possibilities in "the Scud ate my home-work" spread to those old enough to know better. True, war is hell for those who fight it but can be a handy excuse for those who don't, and adults be-

gan invoking it with an ingenuity and appetite that their offspring could only dream about. The situation in the Persian Gulf was invoked as a cause of the recession—or as President Blash is fond of calling it, the temporary interruption the longest economic expansion in history. Likewise for the twoweek closing of the Poiles-Bergrier in Paris, John McEvine dropping out of a tennis match in Milan, the pricing of the vidvo release of Ghosts at \$100 instead of \$19.95, and the New York Giants' refusal to take part in Mayor David Dinkins' Super Bowl victory celebration.

The wide-spread appeal of blaming Saddam for everything spartly explained by its one-size fits-all quality. But it also has other attributes prized by veteran excuse makers: it's simple, requiring no complicated, tongue-tying explanation, universally understood, vaguely virtuous and hard to check. War, as the talking heads point out, has unintended consequences, and having to pay almost twice as much since late January to hyf rom Chicago to Miamin may be one of them. What croproaction worth its public relations department would want to remail? when a fresh, Desert Storm excuse is handy? Trans World Airlines, plagued by high debt and slow traffic since it was purchased in 1986 by Carl I chan, cited the Persian Gulf in

announcing that it would not be making \$75.5 million in scheduled payments to bondholders in February. As for the dismal performance of retailers over Christmas, who would imagine that thigh-high hemlines or sticker shock over \$100 cotton sweaters and \$200 tennis shoes rather than combat jitters could have held consumers back.

Certain linkage is now predictable. Whichever direction the stock market goes and whether it gets there in light, heavy or moderate trading, it does so because of the situation in the Middle East. And the weatherman can hardy get to the local forecast, he's so busy reporting the harmoretre pressure in Dhahran. Bott there is still some admirable originality at work: On the day the Corporation of the day to the Corporation of the

host the event at one of his Atlantic City casinos. The ploy is unlikely to succeed unless Saddam bombs the boardwalk. Similarly, Sugar Ray Leonard dragged the troops in Saudi Arabia into an interview last Tuesday about why only 4,000 of the 18,000 tickets to last Saturday's championship bout at Madison Square Garden had been sold. He neglected to mention his age (34), string of phony retirements and the obscurity of his opponent, who wears an earring.

clause" in his contract to

If an over-the-hill fighter can make hay out of the war, imagine what the archetypal villains of '80s

excess could have done had hostilities broken out a few years earlier. Leona Helmsley and Michael Milken might have escaped being sentenced to hard time in the Big House. Where was the Persian Gulf when the Keating Five needed it, when Laura Palmer was killed, when the Boston Red Sox lost the American League plavoffs in four straight games?

Only the oil companies are at pains to avoid linkage. Since Saddam invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2, the industry has had a huge surge in earnings. Chevron, which made 2½ times as much in last year's fourth quarter as in 1989's, attributed the untick to an "aberration."

upuses out a decration, use of have the war to hide behind much longer. In the meantime, certain rules of engagement in the blame game are being codified. As long as there are men and womens serving in the gulf, noon ein government, the military, CxN or the take-out pizza business has to applogize for being late, leaving early or canceling out allogether on any nonwork-related event, and that includes cockinil-party fund maists, well, a Send at the hast three lines of this story pour-naists, well, a Send at the hast three lines of this story pour-naists, well, a Send at the hast three lines of this story.

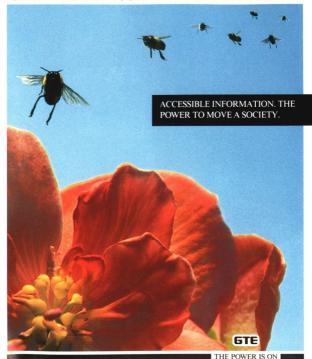


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